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Pastors, Politicians, Pacifists

By
LE ROY F. SMITH
and
E. B. JOHNS

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Publishers' Note

Two helpful features, facilitating the use of this volume as a REFERENCE BOOK, have been included in this edition.

First, the book carries a very complete TOPICAL, ORGANIZATIONAL, and PERSONNEL INDEX. This index may be used by the reader for the purpose of *establishing a clear mental picture* of the varied relationships and affiliations of the members of this great organization, and also to enable him to comprehend the variety of activities in which the Federal Council interests itself.

Second, opposite the beginning of Chapter XVII, on Page 167, entitled, "The Family Tree," will be found a *chart* graphically portraying the *Organization*, the *Cooperating Bodies*, and the *Spheres of Influence* of the Federal Council.

INTRODUCTION

The charge will be made that this book is an attack upon religion. If this book be read with merely ordinary carefulness, that charge will stand wholly disproven.

The Man of Galilee was certainly not open to the charge of being irreligious, yet his scathing criticisms of ecclesiastical leaders, constitute the high-water mark of righteous denunciation.

The present general uprising against the extra-religious activities of powerful leaders of ecclesiastical organizations and appurtenant societies, is an uprising not of men and women who despise religion, but of men and women who *love* religion and who earnestly seek to perpetuate the correct interpretation of it, as the only hope for our civilization.

It is one thing for a man to love his home; it is another thing for him to patch the roof of his home when it leaks, to renovate his cellar when it becomes foul, or even to remodel his domicile when necessary.

Indeed, the deeper a father's love for his home and its precious contents, the greater his solicitation to make certain at all times that his sacred domicile be clean and wholesome.

The authors of this book, in common with thousands of its readers, are unequivocal in their championing of religion. MORE THAN THAT, THE AUTHORS

ARE STEADFAST IN THEIR SUPPORT OF ORGANIZED RELIGION—THAT IS, THE CHURCHES. The churches are as necessary for the preservation and development of the religious mind of men, as the school is necessary for the perpetuation of secular education. The citizen who neglects to support organized religion is not performing his whole moral citizenship obligation.

But there appears today a divergence of view as to the proper *function* of the Church. A large, and, as we believe, a majority group in the United States hold to the opinion laid down by the deeply religious men who framed our government, that the influence of religion is properly to be brought to bear upon the State by the righteous consciences of individual citizens, translating each for himself his concepts of religious duty into his political acts. IN OTHER WORDS, THE CHURCH'S TRUE JOB IS TO MAKE THE STATE BETTER BY MAKING BETTER THE INDIVIDUALS WHO COMPOSE THE STATE.

But latterly we see a recrudescence of the old idea that the function of the Church is not merely to make good citizens who will then make a good State, but that the Church should also, or even most especially, make citizens good by commandeering the functions of the State. Between the extreme exponents of these two cults there is found, of course, every gradation of thought. Some churchmen who in principle agree that the Church's true function is to save the souls of individual men, yet hold to the belief that the Church should also engage in evangelization en masse, Christianization through political power, provided, of course, as they stipulate, that

the brand of Christianity placed in power be their brand.

The authors of this book are, in company with many of their fellow churchmen, supporters of the time-proven doctrine of this Republic and of the majority of the church groups in this Republic, that the mission of the Organized Church is to make citizens righteous and through the righteousness of the citizens, and *only* through their righteousness, to operate toward accomplishing the righteousness of the State.

If the Church has failed to "sell" the ideals of morality, Christianity, good will or integrity to the individual, it is not possible, and in the United States it is not legal, for the Church to attempt to "deliver" these ideals to the citizenship en masse by means of ecclesiastical political power.

THE PUBLISHERS.

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DEDICATION

TO THE MEMORY OF OUR CHRISTIAN MOTHERS, AT WHOSE KNEES WE LEARNED OUR CONCEPTS OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP; AND

TO OUR CHRISTIAN FATHERS, WHOSE CHRISTIAN LOVE FOR MANKIND FILLED THEIR LIVES WITH HIGH SERVICE FOR THEIR CHURCH AND THEIR COUNTRY AND FOR THE FLAG WHICH FLOATS OVER BOTH.

FOREWORD

CHRIST'S DOCTRINE

As the hour was approaching for His crucifixion, Christ gave utterance to His doctrine for the separation of the state and church. This is recorded in three of the gospels. In Luke, Chapter 20, nineteenth to twenty-fifth verses, inclusive, it is set forth:

> "19. And the chief priests and the scribes the same hour sought to lay hands on Him; and they feared the people; for they perceived that He had spoken this parable against them.
>
> "20. And they watched *Him* and sent forth spies, which should feign themselves just men, that they might take hold of His words, that so they might deliver Him unto the power and authority of the governor.
>
> "21. And they asked Him, saying, Master, we know that thou sayest and teachest rightly, neither acceptest thou the person *of any*, but teachest the way of God truly;
>
> "22. Is it lawful for us to give tribute unto Caesar, or no?
>
> "23. But He perceived their craftiness, and said unto them, why tempt ye me?

"24. Shew me a penny. Whose image and superscription hath it? They answered and said, Caesar's.

"25. And He said unto them, render therefore unto Caesar the things which be Caesar's, and unto God the things which be God's."

A Great Statesman's View

Edmund Burke, the great English statesman, in describing the relations that should exist between the state and church, said:

"No sound ought to be heard in the church but the healing voice of Christian charity. The cause of civil liberty and civil government gains as little as that of religion by this confusion of duties. Those who quit their proper character to assume what does not belong to them are, for the greater part, ignorant both of the character they leave and of the character they assume. Wholly unacquainted with the world, in which they are so fond of meddling, and inexperienced in all its affairs, on which they pronounce with so much confidence, they have nothing of politics but the passions they excite. Surely the church is a place where one day's truce ought to be allowed to the dissensions and animosities of mankind."

Chapter I

THE CHARGES

IN MAKING serious charges against such a powerful ecclesiastical organization as the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, it is only fair to the readers that they be informed as to who makes them and as to the motives with which they are inspired. Based on the veneration which every decent man has for the things of religion and worship, there is always a disposition to view any criticism of the clergy or of ecclesiastical organizations as coming from some atheist, agnostic, or other person hostile to all worship or spiritual activity. It is believed that a short statement as to the identity of the authors will convince the fair-minded that they are not imbued with any intention of discrediting the churches.

LeRoy F. Smith is a son and grandson of the Methodist parsonage; his father being Reverend E. L. Smith of the Northeast Ohio Methodist Episcopal Conference and his grandfather, the late Reverend Dr. John Whitworth, of the same Conference. He was educated at the Methodist Ohio Wesleyan University. He is himself active in the Methodist Church and Sunday School work and has been President of the large Men's Bible Class of the

First Methodist Episcopal Church of Los Angeles, California, since 1923.

E. B. Johns is also of Methodist parentage, and is educating his daughter in a Methodist training school for religious workers. He is a graduate of Taylor University and took a special course at DePauw University—both Methodist institutions. He has been a member of the Press Gallery of Washington for over twenty years.

It is not without grave provocation that these sincere believers in religion and in the organized church would even question the wisdom of a policy pursued by such a pretentious organization, which bears a religious name, as the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. Indubitable and cumulative proofs of the secular political machinations of the Federal Council support the charges that:

1. The Federal Council of Churches is attempting to take charge of affairs of the civil government and is continually adding to its program of the attempted management of affairs which are distinctly non-religious and outside of the mission of the Church. It is undermining the teachings of Christ and the constitutional policy of the United States for the separation of the State and the Church.

2. The group that controls the Federal Council of Churches is falsely claiming to represent twenty million members of the Christian Churches in national and international affairs. It is in no way a representative body as will be

shown by its constitution and the manner of selecting its controlling committees.

3. The Federal Council of Churches is cooperating with and frequently working under the direction of radical groups. The same radical groups are affiliated with the Third Internationale, which is seeking to destroy all churches and to stifle all religion.

4. From its inception the Federal Council has combated every measure of adequate defense for the nation. It carried on a campaign against preparedness, even when the country was being drawn into the World War. The Federal Council is regularly cooperating with organizations which refused to support the government when it was in the great conflict.

5. Among the leaders of the Federal Council are men who are also active and influential directors in many radical subversive organizations. The left wing, or more radical element in the Federal Council, is exerting an ever-increasing influence.

6. Every effort to strengthen the laws for the exclusion of undesirable immigrants from this country has been opposed by the Federal Council. In this it has acted under the direction of the American Civil Liberties Union which boasts of its radicalism.

7. The Federal Council, when the League of Nations covenant was pending before the Senate, insisted that the twenty million church members were demanding that the United States should

join the league. This will be substantiated by official reports of the Council.

8. The Federal Council, directed by a group of high-priced international lawyers, succeeded in convincing the Senate that the great body of church members was demanding that the United States adhere to the World Court covenant. In this campaign Elihu Root and George W. Wickersham were prominent and assumed the role of church leaders.

9. The controlling group of the Federal Council favors the complete cancellation of the foreign debt and is only waiting for an opportune moment to mobilize the organization behind such a program.

10. The final objective of the controlling group of the Federal Council is a united or state church with power to deal with all political and economic questions even to the tariff. This statement will be supported by official documents of the Council.

11. The entire program of the Federal Council is contrary to the teachings of Christ and is paganism under the guise of Christianity.

12. That the controlling group has at its command through the Federal Council and its affiliated and cooperating organizations an annual budget of about a million dollars.

Chapter II

CARNEGIE SUBSIDIZES THE CHURCHES

ALTHOUGH the Federal Council of Churches was organized in 1908, it did not assume to direct affairs of the nation until 1914. Even in 1913, its budget was only $35,000. This might be presumed to be a very generous budget for an organization which according to its name and the purpose of its establishment, was only to advise the churches on moral issues and promote friendly relations between the different denominations. When the Federal Council was created, it was to engage in no new activities but to form a sort of liaison between the different churches. To this function there can be no objection from any one who is interested in the progress of Christianity.

It was in 1914 when Andrew Carnegie took over the controlling group of the Federal Council by subsidizing what is known as the Church Peace Union. Mr. Carnegie, according to one of his biographers, had never evinced a friendliness to the clergy or the churches. It is asserted that he refused donations to denominational colleges, and is quoted as making sarcastic remarks about some of the members of the clergy. His first gesture toward making donations to the churches was the endowing of the Church

Peace Union for $2,000,000. This is not a large organization of churches, as might be inferred from its name, but consists of a self-perpetuating Board of twenty-nine trustees. Practically all of the trustees are in some way identified with the Federal Council. The Church Peace Union, or the Board of Trustees, has always exercised a dominating influence in the Federal Council. In one sense the Peace Union is merely one of the activities of the Federal Council. The Carnegie endowment of the Peace Union gave the controlling group in the Federal Council an annual income which has enabled it to run the budget for the Federal Council and its cooperating and associated organizations up into the millions. Among these organizations are the Church Peace Union, the World's Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, the Commission on International Friendship and Good Will, the National Council for the Prevention of War, and the American Civil Liberties Union.

Part of the controlling group of the Federal Council will disavow the extreme left of their organization which is disguised with the name of the American Civil Liberties Union. They may also claim to have no connection with the National Council for the Prevention of War which, in one of its Bulletins, boasted of being a friend of Soviet Russia. It is known, however, that the controlling group of the Federal Council of Churches established the National Council for the Prevention of War, and that there has been a close cooperation between the American Civil Liberties Union and the Federal Council in important legislation pending before Congress.

As far as that is concerned, when attention was called to certain activities of the Peace Union, it was asserted emphatically at the headquarters of the Federal Council that the Council had nothing to do with the Church Peace Union. Despite this disavowal of the Peace Union at the headquarters of the Federal Council, only a few weeks previous Dr. Frederick Lynch, secretary of the Church Peace Union, in testimony before the House Committee on Military Affairs, declared as a member of the administrative committee, he was drafting a resolution on military training for the Federal Council. Just a moment previous to this statement, he had asserted that the Federal Council had a constituency of twenty million church members. The officials of these cooperating and associated organizations disavow each other with such abandon that their relations can only be determined by observing their activities.

The American Civil Liberties Union which is awarded the honor of being the left of the Federal Council of Churches, has *its* left in the Third International. There is a world of evidence to prove that the left of the Civil Liberties Union is planted in Russia. Any attempt to follow all of the ramifications of either the Civil Liberties Union or the Federal Council of Churches invariably produces mental dizziness. You soon find yourself going around in circles, meeting yourself at every turn.

The general picture is this: On the right are twenty-eight Christian churches which contribute liberally to the support of the Federal Council, and have little to do with framing its policy. In the

center is the Church Peace Union with the $2,000,000 subsidy, and on the left is the Civil Liberties Union with the Garland free-love communist fund. There is a conviction among those who have watched the Federal Council's activities that attached to the extreme left is a pot of Soviet gold. Without regard to whether this is true, it is known that the Civil Liberties Union always has a member of its controlling group in Russia conferring with the Soviet. At last reports, Wm. Z. Foster was the American Civil Liberties representative in Russia.

The organization of the Church Peace Union was not attended by any great religious revival. Mr. Carnegie conducted the affair like a meeting of one of his corporations in which he coolly proposed to purchase the churches' influence for the abolishment of war. After war had been abolished, the iron-master authorized the trustees to expend the income from the endowment for charity.

But to quote from Mr. Carnegie's speech when at his home on February 10, 1914, he established the Church Peace Union:

"We all feel, I believe, that the killing of man by man in battle is barbaric, and negatives our claim to civilization. This crime we wish to banish from the earth. Some progress has already been made in this direction, but recently men have shed more of their fellow's blood than for years previously. We need to be aroused to our duty and banish war.

"Certain that the strongest appeal that can be made is to members of the religious bodies, to you I hereby appeal, hoping that you will feel it to be not only your duty, but your pleasure, to undertake

the administration of two millions of dollars five per cent bonds, the income to be so used as in your judgment will most successfully appeal to the people in the cause of peace through arbitration of international disputes; that as man in civilized lands is compelled by law to submit personal disputes to courts of law, so nations shall appeal to the court at the Hague or to such tribunals as may be mutually agreed upon, and bow to the verdict rendered, thus insuring the reign of national peace through international law. When that day arrives, either through such courts of law or through other channels, this trust shall have fulfilled its mission.

"After the arbitration of international disputes is established and war abolished, as it certainly will be some day, and that sooner than expected, probably by the Teutonic nations, Germany, Britain, and the United States, first deciding to act in unison, other Powers joining later, the trustees will divert the revenue of this fund to relieve the deserving poor and afflicted in their distress, especially those who have struggled long and earnestly against misfortune and have not themselves altogether to blame for their poverty. Members of the various churches will naturally know sufferers well, and can therefore the better judge. As a general rule, it is best to help those who help themselves, but there are unfortunates from whom this cannot be expected.

"After war is abolished by the leading nations the trustees by a vote of two-thirds may decide that a better use for the funds than those named in the preceding paragraph have been found, and are free according to their own judgment to devote the

income to the best advantage for the good of their fellow men.

"Happy in the belief that the civilized world will not, cannot, long tolerate the killing of man by man as a means of settling its international disputes, and that civilized men will not, cannot, long enter a profession which binds them to go forth and kill their fellow men as ordered, although they will continue to defend their homes if attacked as a duty, which always involves the duty of never attacking the homes of others."

The Board of Trustees of the Church Peace Union started the campaign for the abolishment of war on the day that Mr. Carnegie turned over to them the $2,000,000 subsidy. High sounding resolutions were passed in which a demand was made upon the rulers of the world that they abolish war. In the course of the resolution it was stated:

"The so-called civilized world maintains, chiefly in idle parade, usually all their lives, no less than 6,244,600 men, armed and pledged to go forth and kill their fellow men as ordered should war arise. Most of these, however, never fire a hostile shot, war being the exception, long years of idleness the rule. Even in war with men firing at battleships twelve miles distant, with troops under cover firing at troops a mile distant—war is no longer conducive to the heroic."

This is scarcely descriptive of the World War which was then only a few months in the future. Confident that they could promptly carry Mr. Carnegie's objective for the abolishment of war and overawe all of the nations of the world, two inter-

national church conferences were promoted and financed by the Church Peace Union trustees. One was for Roman Catholic churches to be held in Liege, Belgium; the other for the Protestants at Constance, Germany. In the official reports, published by the Federal Council, is recorded what happened at the conference. The report goes on to relate:

"One hundred and twenty delegates in all had planned attendance on the conference of Protestants. It so happened, however, that the delegates from America and England and a few each from the Protestant churches of Europe gathered in Constance, Germany, on the very day (August 1, 1914) that war was declared between Germany and Russia. The Roman Catholic Conference was to have been held at Liege on the very date upon which it was attacked by the invading force. Needless to say, no delegates assembled for that conference.

"Over eighty delegates were in actual attendance at the Conference at Constance, representing America, England, France, Germany, Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden. One pastor from Bulgaria represented the Protestants of that land. These delegates convened to consider their duty and opportunity in the promotion of better international relations. This was in truth the first international conference of Christians ever held for the promotion of world peace, but it was too late. The tragedy was on. The war lords were in control and Christians and the churches were powerless."

This part of the report is rather severe upon the war leaders of England, France and later those of

the United States. It treats the former Kaiser rather sympathetically, going on to say:

"Emperor William, it should, however, be noted, had been so interested in the proposed Conference that, in spite of many absorbing duties, he sent his own special representative to the Conference—Dr. Siegmund-Schultze—and this had much to do with the success of the Conference. Through his aid, although Germany was under martial law and nowhere could six persons gather for a meeting, special exception was made for this international conference of Christians. On August 2, three sessions were held and steps were taken for the organization of a World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship Through the Churches.

"On Monday, August 3, the Conference took train in a body on the last express out of Constance, slowly travelled down the Rhine, and passed out of Germany only an hour before the entire passenger service of the country was closed. Reaching London, we heard the jeers of the world hurled at Christianity, and especially at Christian pacifists. Christianity, we were told, was a failure, was bankrupt, because it had not prevented the war; yet those Christians who wished to do what they could to prevent all wars were derided, not only as impracticable folk, but as ignorant of history and of human nature."

It is submitted that the implied promise to Mr. Carnegie when they accepted his millions that they would abolish war and have something left over for charity, does create the suspicion that this group was "not only impracticable folk, but ignorant of history and human nature."

Their official reports show clearly that they did not know what was taking place in the world at that time. Everybody saw Europe drifting into the war but they proceeded to call a peace conference which met on the day that the conflagration broke forth. Subsequent reports of their activities will show further that the American delegates "were only impracticable folk" when it came to keeping this country out of war. Instead of supporting a policy of armed neutrality which might have deterred Germany from committing outrages upon our neutral rights, they advocated a too-proud-to-fight policy which could not but have created the impression abroad that this nation would not defend itself.

Neither before the war broke out in Europe nor during the period that the United States kept out of it did the Federal Council leaders prove to be wise counsellors. Their course only hastened the day when the United States was drawn into the conflict.

Chapter III

COOPERATING WITH THE KAISER

THERE is no documentary evidence that any of the leaders of the Federal Council of Churches promised the Kaiser at the conference in Constance, Germany, which took place on August 1, 1914, that they would keep the United States out of war. According to the Council's official report it was due to the former Emperor of Germany that the conference was a success. It was only by special decree of the former Emperor that it was possible to hold the meeting, as Germany was then at war with Russia and all popular meetings were prohibited.

It is easy to see how in the enthusiasm of their gratefulness to the former Kaiser, some of the delegates might have made rash promises to the war lord, which he may have taken too seriously. That there may have been some foundation for this presumption is given credence from the fact that the German correspondents at Washington early in the war expressed the opinion that the churches would keep the United States out of the war. That they could not have done more to keep the United States out of the war if they had made a solemn promise to the Kaiser is revealed by their official reports for 1914-'15 and '16, and the early part of 1917.

The delegates to the Constance Conference from Switzerland and other neutral countries went home and supported their governments in the mobilization of their military forces which kept them out of the war. There was not a minute of the time in the war until the United States went into it that Switzerland could not have turned the tide of the war if she had joined either the Allies or the Central Powers. The pressure from both sides to force Switzerland into the war was greater than that upon the United States, but she kept out of the war by armed neutrality.

The American delegates to the Constance church conference pursued an exactly opposite policy. Furthermore, President Wilson appeared to take their advice. His "too proud to fight" and other pacifistic declarations were expressive of a great flood of literature which was sent out from the Federal Council's headquarters. The result was that not only Germany but England paid no attention to our rights as neutrals. Germany carried her submarine campaign so far that President Wilson's implied promise in the campaign of 1916 to keep us out of war was in vain. The Federal Council group carried their campaign against preparedness almost up to the day that war was declared. The sinking of the Lusitania, it will be observed, did not in any way affect their campaign against the defenses of the nation. The reports of the Federal Council are rather boastful of the great flood of literature that was sent out to the churches which was designed not only to keep the nation out of war but to under-

mine its morale if it should be drawn into the conflict.

After the war was declared, there was a temporary separation between the right and left wings of the Federal Council group. The right was loyal throughout the war while the left kept partially within the law in opposition to the government. Now this does not apply universally to either the left or the right, for some of even the socialists supported the war. The clergy as a whole was loyal to the country, but this could hardly be said of such active spirits as Harry F. Ward, of the Methodist Federation for Social Service. He was not sent to Leavenworth as were some of his associates in the American Civil Liberties Union, but he makes no claim of supporting the Government in the great conflict.

In all of the Federal Council's reports and literature there is not a single reference to America's rights as a neutral or as a nation. The entire $100,000 of the Carnegie endowment for the Church Peace Union was expended according to their report of 1914 on the Constance Conference, in peace meetings, and in drives against any gesture on the part of the country to prepare to defend itself. In a review of the work for 1914 it is stated: "The first year's work was of necessity a year of beginning. Enterprises were started whose results can come out only later. As will have been gathered from reading the foregoing pages, the Church Peace Union works through other agencies to which it makes grants."

The report states that "Five thousand seven hundred dollars were expended on promoting wide observance of Peace Sunday." As these exercises

in the churches were at the call of President Wilson for Sunday, October 4, 1914, there appears no reason for such an expenditure on that day.

The report continues: "Twenty thousand dollars was sent to the British and German Peace Councils before the war; $13,700 was expended on the Conferences at Constance and London; $10,000 was granted the Federal Council of Churches of Christ for its mission on peace and arbitration and the Commission on Relations with Japan; $5,000 was given the Federal Council's Commission on a hundred years peace; $2,000 to the New York City Church Federation for organizing peace work among the New York Churches; $1,000 to the Federal Commission for the preparation of a study on war and peace suited to the needs of the Sunday Schools; and $13,400 was expended on publications and general publicity work."

The reference in the report quoted to granting the Federal Council money for certain purposes is a mere form and in a sense humorous. The same group controls the Church Peace Union and the Federal Council. It amounts to passing the money from one hand to the other. A call for a meeting of either organization brings the same group together, and they can hold first a meeting of the Federal Council, and presto! the Peace Union is in session.

The Federal Council, or the Church Peace Union started the year of 1915 by a message to the churches. As stated in the report, it was sent to 10,000 selected pastors—the key men of the Protestant churches. In response to the popular demand that the War Department make a report on the condition of our

Army, the General Staff had submitted recommendations through the then Secretary of War Garrison. President Wilson, as the Council's reports show, had accepted its "too proud to fight" propaganda, and refused to make public the reports of the General Staff. There was a storm of protest from the daily press. It was very insistent that the country should know the truth about its defenses. It was to stem this rising tide of public opinion that the Federal Council group made its address to the 10,000 selected pastors. An impassioned appeal was made to pastors to preach sermons that would calm what the Council called "war talk." On this subject the proclamation stated:

"Our own freedom from militarism has been due to the protecting oceans rather than superior virtues. The present clamor for armament to resist a possible attack is prompted, not by peril but by the disposition to echo on our side of the sea the cries which have been heard in Europe for years, and is engendering the same suspicion that has wrecked the relations of Germany and Great Britain. Are we to repeat the policy which is drenching the continent with bloodshed? This is the time to prepare, not for war, but for peace."

But the country insisted and the report of the General Staff was made public. It provided for a smaller army than the Belgian force which the German Army had swept aside by a mere gesture in its drive at the heart of France. When enacted into law by Congress in 1916, it became known as the original National Defense Act. If it had been put into effect before the United States was drawn

into the war, according to the plans of the General Staff, it would have given the nation something like an adequate corps of officers and a nucleus that could have been expanded to the American Expeditionary Force without all of the attendant confusion and unnecessary expenditure and loss of life.

The National Defense Act provided for five annual increments in the strength of the regular Army. The study in the General Staff in 1915 brought out plainly that to maintain the efficiency and standard of the regular Army, it would require five years to make the expansion in the number of officers authorized by the Act. The country was drawn into the war in 1917 and an attempt was made to do in a few months what should have taken five years. The result was that the regular Army as well as the rest of the country was caught unprepared for the conflict.

But this did not deter the Federal Council group from continuing its campaign against preparedness, even as the country was drifting rapidly toward the World conflict. It followed its message to the churches by a questionnaire, the concluding paragraph of which declared that this is the time to prepare for peace and not for war.

The questionnaire reads:

"Do you approve of the agitation for increasing armament now being conducted by various organizations, or do you agree with President Wilson that 'any agitation of America's unpreparedness for war is unfortunate just at this stage'? We should be glad to know your frank opinion on the whole question of the United States and armament. Should

we follow Europe or should we find some new way to lead the nation?"

While the answers were being compiled at the Federal Council headquarters, a German submarine sank the *Lusitania* and the following was added to the report:

"The answers to these letters were satisfactory and abstracts were given out to the daily press of the nation which furnished much encouragement for those disapproving demands for excessive armaments."

The writer of the report was honest enough to confess that: "These answers were sent in before the sinking of the *Lusitania* and might not be so unanimously opposed to any agitation for increased armament since then as they were before, for that event was the beginning of hysteria and fear which has seized so great a part of the nation."

But there was no pause in the campaign to undermine the morale of the nation as it was approaching a life and death crisis. The report goes on to state:

"Out of these answers 1,000 names were chosen which evinced the most interest in the peace movement, and were addressed follow up letters. They were asked to form peace-making committees in all of the churches and also in the various ministerial bodies. Literature was provided out of our publication fund and every pastor was given Doctor Gulick's excellent book, 'The Fight for Peace,' written as a manual. Doctor Gulick also wrote a peacemaker's manual."

The activities of the Federal Council during this year extended to the colleges where the military authorities were planning to secure most of the

emergency officers in the event of war. The report states "The Secretary (of the Federal Council) has also acted as a general adviser for the anti-military group in the universities, which has taken a high moral stand in their opposition to the attempt to lead America into the old war path which has led Europe to destruction." The Council's financial report shows an expenditure of money in the colleges and schools. In these items are included $10,000 for religious education, $1,000 for college anti-militarism, and another $1,000 for the Cornell Settlement School.

In 1916 the Federal Council continued with unabated zeal its campaign against preparedness and especially against the passage of the National Defense Act. There is no detailed statement in the reports for 1916 as to how the $100,000 was expended in these activities. It circulated through church channels a set of resolutions which set forth:

"Upon the hearts of the American people we should enroll the duty of national preparedness in mind and in spirit that we may more worthily meet the crux of the situation by which we are now confronted. Military preparedness having proved to be inadequate as a safeguard to world peace, we call upon men everywhere to denounce the policy of armed peace and to seek to follow a better way."

In February the Federal Council started its peace petition. Ten thousand post cards were mailed to the clergy for their signatures. The petition began:

"We, the ministers of the churches of the United States, view with painful solicitude the organized and determined efforts to stampede the nation at this time into increased and extravagant expenditures

for ships and guns, and desire to place upon record our earnest objection to the committing of our nation to a policy of so-called preparedness, for which Europe is paying an awful price."

As an organization the Federal Council gave loyal support to the government after the war was declared. Its bulletins show that it was more concerned with putting over prohibition as a war measure than getting American forces in the front trenches. It did pass one resolution asking that conscientious objectors be given non-combatant service indicating that even during the war there was sympathy in the organization for the pacifists. With the signing of the Armistice the Federal Council of Churches group began to suggest a League of Nations. There was some discussion of this by the internationally minded group of the Federal Council even before the war. It was because President Wilson's utterance on the subject was the first to come from an official source that he is credited with originating the League of Nations idea.

When President Wilson went to Versailles with the plan for a League of Nations the controlling group of the Federal Council attempted to mobilize all of the religious fervor of the country in the support of the proposition that the United States should join the League without regard to whether it would involve us in European affairs. On December 12, 1918, the executive committee of the Federal Council of Churches met in Atlantic City. A cablegram was sent to President Wilson in which he was assured that the churches would support him. The administrative committee was instructed to conduct an

intensive campaign to rally all of the churches and religious organizations in support of the League of Nations. An appeal was to be made to "the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., the Bible Classes, the Women's Federated groups, and the Adult Study groups." All of the financial resources of the Federal Council and the Church Peace Union were placed at the disposal of Doctor Sidney L. Gulick who became the real director of the League of Nations campaign. According to the Federal Council's admitted expenses, the campaign for the League of Nations cost between $350,000 and $400,000.

In the great flood of literature and speeches in support of the League of Nations there is not a word or a suggestion that the interests of this country should be guarded. When the League of Nations treaty was pending in the Senate every reservation proposed for the protection of this nation was indignantly opposed by the Federal Council of Churches.

A careful survey of all the official documents and statements to the press of the Federal Council of Churches on the League of Nations, Arms Conference, World Court, and preparedness measures, does not reveal a single suggestion that the welfare or interests of this nation should be considered. Such suggestions are denounced as sordid and selfish.

In every crisis or international controversy, the controlling group of the Federal Council can be depended upon to cooperate with the enemy, or possible enemy, whether it be Great Britain, France, Japan, the Kaiser, or the Russian Soviet. Its motto appears to be—"My country, right or wrong, I am *against* it."

Chapter IV

COOPERATING WITH THE RADICALS

THE Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America is a liberal organization, according to the classification of Solon De Leon of the Rand School of Social Science. In response to a question from a correspondent this eminent authority on socialism classed the Federal Council with the American Civil Liberties Union and the Fellowship for Reconciliation.

As the Rand School is the training school for reds and pinks, Mr. De Leon ought to know what he is talking about when he is giving the standing of socialistic and communistic societies. Of course, Mr. De Leon bases his opinion upon the activities of the controlling group of the Federal Council, and not on the twenty million church members which the Council claims to represent.

The liaison between the Federal Council and the American Civil Liberties Union is through Harry F. Ward. Mr. Ward is chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union and also one of the most active in the group which controls the Federal Council. Mr. Ward comes in to the Federal Council not as a representative of any church, but from The Methodist Federation for Social Service. This organization was

not created by the Methodist Episcopal General Conference, but is a paper organization maintained by Mr. Ward and his group of radicals and pinks. Still the Federal Council has listed among its publications "Religious Democracy" and "The Year Book of the Church and Social Service," by Harry F. Ward. In the latter publication, he is given as assistant secretary of the Federal Council Commission on the Church and Social Service. He is also a member of the Council of Church Secretaries. According to an official diagram of the Federal Council, the Secretarial Council has an important function. All of the activities of the Federal Council, its executive and administrative committees, pass through the Secretarial Council.

Yet it is doubtful whether there is a more uncompromising advocate or defender for all that is radical and subversive in America than Doctor Ward. The late Samuel Gompers, former President of the American Federation of Labor, referred to him as "a pink cleric." "He was the idol of the I.W.W. leaders and did all he could to shield the communists who were arrested in the Bridgeman (Mich.) raid. His organization, then known as the Civil Liberties Bureau, during the World War, gave aid and comfort to conscientious objectors and draft dodgers. Since the war, it has conducted a campaign to secure the release of those who were sent to Leavenworth for treasonable activities during the war." It is this organization that originated the term "political prisoners" for those who were convicted of committing crimes against the government when it was in the great conflict.

Yet for the information of the twenty million church members which the Federal Council claims to represent, it should be stated that since the war in every appearance before Congress the Federal Council of Church representatives have cooperated with, or been under the direction of, the Civil Liberties Union. This combination was particularly active during the long session of Congress in 1925–26. From the official reports of the hearings before Congressional Committees, it would appear that it was only necessary for the American Civil Liberties Union to push the button and the Federal Council would snap to the front. This is evident from a review on the hearings on the Capper Bill introduced at the request of the American Legion to prevent profiteering during the war, the bill for the deportation of alien criminals, the Walsh bill prohibiting the detail of regular Army officers to certain schools and colleges, and the items appropriating allowances for military training in the Army Appropriation Bill. In the hearings it was frequently brought out by cross questions that the Federal Council's representatives had given very little thought to the bills before the Committee, and they frequently displayed total ignorance of the points at issue. They were usually prompted by the Civil Liberty Union's attorneys and it was evident that the churches were being used as a respectable front for the radicals' fight against preparedness and the exclusion of criminal aliens.

In the hearings before the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, it is of record that the Federal Council was working under the direction

of the American Civil Liberties Union. Representative Albert Johnson, of Washington, who has been a stalwart advocate of effective legislation to not only exclude undesirable aliens, but to deport alien criminals, as Chairman of the Committee, opened the hearings by announcing:

"This meeting was called at the request of the officers of the American Civil Liberties Union. The list of persons attending this hearing, as given to me, is as follows: From the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, New York City: Rev. Samuel McCrea Cavert, general secretary; Rev. Sidney L. Gulick, secretary Commission on International Justice and Good Will; Rev. Alfred W. Anthony, chairman, Committee on Friendly Relations between Jews and Christians. From the Social Service Commission, Episcopal Diocese of New York: Rev. Charles K. Gilbert, executive secretary.

"From the American Civil Liberties Union: Allen S. Olmsted and Francis Fisher Kane, of Philadelphia; Arthur Garfield Hays and Walter Pollak, of New York City; Elizabeth Gilmer, Eli Frank, Jr., Mrs. W. W. Ford, and Mercer G. Johnston, of Baltimore.

"From the Delaware League of Woman Voters: Miss Edith Spruance, chairman of Legislative Committee, Wilmington, Del.

"From the League for American Citizenship, New York City: Mr. N. Phillips, chairman.

"From the National Council of Jewish Women: Mrs. M. Lansburgh, Legislative Committee, Washington, D.C."

Allen S. Olmsted, 2nd, an attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union, had charge of the witnesses, and indicated the order in which they were to appear. To obtain a picture of the character of the man under whose direction the Federal Council's witnesses were operating, let his testimony, as it appears in the report of the hearings, be quoted:

Representative Holaday: "Just take that question: an alien who has been guilty of rioting, and who has been convicted in the courts and sentenced to a year in the penitentiary. Do you feel that there is any loss to America, to the future of our country, in deporting that man?"

Mr. Olmsted: "Yes, I do."

Chairman Johnson: "You mean aliens?"

Mr. Olmsted: "Yes, aliens."

Chairman Johnson: "You think that an alien has a perfect right to come here and get into a labor strike, preach communism all he wants to, and to advocate the overthrow of the government?"

Mr. Olmsted: "Yes."

Representative Box: "There is no distinction between citizen and alien. You believe that even if an alien has come in violation of law and from the very inception of his connection with the country his connection was formed with lawlessness—?"

Mr. Olmsted: "Yes, I think I would even go that far, although I might reduce that."

Chairman Johnson: "Let us carry the idea out farther. We have a strike in Passaic. That is a strike made up pretty much of aliens, is it not?"

Mr. Olmsted: "Yes, sir."

Chairman Johnson: "I think you will ascertain that perhaps one-half is alien population. I believe that the strike leaders there say they are communists—that is a communist strike. The probabilities are that they are preaching anti-religion, anti-government, the third International, and other things of that kind. These speeches are being reported in their papers. Now, if that leads to rioting and murder, you think the leaders, if aliens, should not be deported? * * * He has perhaps sneaked in here without following any rules for getting in, and immediately he is taking part not only in the strike, but in doing his part toward overthrow of the government. What are you going to do with the alien? You cannot deport the citizen."

Mr. Olmsted: "No."

Representative Holaday: "Do I understand you to say that an alien has the right to preach the overthrow of the government and anarchy?"

Mr. Olmsted: "Yes."

Even the publicity for the hearing was conducted by the American Civil Liberties Union. It was by a lady who gave her name as Miss Isabelle Kendig, although she is married and has children. She belongs, it was explained, to a group "of forward looking" women who do not believe in assuming their husbands' or legal names when they are married. In an advance press notice from the American Civil Liberties Union, which appeared in a number of papers, the following account of the hearing was given:

"ADVANCE PRESS REPORT."

American Civil Liberties Union,
Isabelle Kendig, Washington Representative,
806 Seventeenth Street, Main 172.

(*For immediate release*)

Registration of aliens and extension of the present deportation law were severely scored by representatives of national welfare and labor organizations at a hearing before the House Immigration Committee today.

Allen Olmsted, attorney of Philadelphia, acted as chairman of the delegation and introduced the speakers.

Francis Fisher Kane, of Philadelphia, former United States district attorney was the principal spokesman for the American Civil Liberties Union, one of the organizations represented.

Representatives of the American Federation of Labor and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers also spoke at the hearing and registered the protests of organized labor to any extension of the present deportation law and to the whole principle of alien registration.

Other speakers were the Rev. W. L. Darby, of Washington, representing the Federal Council of Churches; Father W. T. Montivan, of the National Catholic Welfare Council; Mrs. Mark Lansburgh, of Washington, secretary of the Legislative Committee of the National Council of Jewish Women; Nathaniel Phillips, New York, of the League for American Citizenship; Miss Edith Spruance, Wilmington, legislative chairman of the Delaware League of Women Voters; and Miss Elizabeth Gilman, Rev. Mercer Johnston, and Eli Frank, representing the Baltimore branch of the American Civil Liberties Union.

A letter condemning the proposed legislation from the Rev. Charles K. Gilbert, of the social service commission of the Episcopal diocese of New York, was also read into the record.

Others who protested against the legislation were Gilson Gardner, of Washington; Rev. Samuel McCrea Cavert, general secretary, Federal Council of Churches; Rev. Sidney L. Gulick, Secretary, Commission of International Justice and Good Will, and Rev. Alfred W. Anthony, chairman, Committee On Friendly Relations Between Jews and Christians, both of the Federal Council, and Arthur Garfield Hays and Walter Pollak, New York attorneys for the Civil Liberties Union."

This is a remarkable account in that it consists of a description of things that did not occur at the hearing. The representative of the labor organizations failed to appear at the hearings. For different reasons quite a number of the other witnesses were not present and Rev. W. L. Darby was the only representative of the Federal Council of Churches. Rev. Charles K. Gilbert, in a letter to the American Civil Liberties Union, quoted Mr. George W. Wickersham, chairman of a committee of the Federal Council, as stating that the bills in his judgment "reflect the survival of war psychology and they are totally at variance with the theory of American institutions."

Mr. Olmsted, after reading the letter, declared, "I may say also that Mr. Wickersham voices the general objection that we of the Civil Liberties Union have to the bill."

Upon the shoulders of Doctor Darby was laid the burden of presenting the views of the Federal Council of Churches.

Doctor Darby, in response to questions, read the list of churches affiliated with the Council. He said: "The entire Protestant membership is about 35,000,000. We have in excess of 20,000,000 represented in the Council."

Doctor Darby read a lengthy resolution adopted by the administrative committee and followed with a statement in support of the resolution. In the course of his statement he said: "There should be no taint of a 'star chamber' in connection with deportation proceedings. This provision of the proposed law is reminiscent of the universally condemned

practice of the czarist government of Russia banishing to Siberia objectionable individuals by secret bureaucratic procedure. I desire to raise the question whether it is not unreasonable and extreme to provide that an alien shall be deported if 'convicted of any offense for which he is sentenced to imprisonment for a term of one year or more.' The immigration act of 1907 provides for deportation in case of 'a crime involving moral turpitude.' The new proposal might easily result in the deportation of an alien for a relatively slight offense."

Chairman Johnson, joined by the other members of the Committee, pressed Doctor Darby for the grounds upon which he based his protest against star-chamber proceedings in deportation of aliens.

Representative Box said: "You stated in your preliminary reference, as I understand it, that you wanted such restrictions adopted that would prevent the railroading out of the country of people legally entitled to stay here. I wanted to know of any cases in which that has been done."

Doctor Darby: "I cannot speak for the New York office because I do not have the facts, but it is my presumption that they must know of some cases of that kind, or if they do not, there is evidence there that because of what seems to them to be a defect in the statement of this law, that would be the case."

Continuing, Doctor Darby said: "The person accused should be guaranteed by law the right of competent counsel."

Chairman Johnson: "You understand that all deportations now under the law the deportee has the right and benefit of counsel?"

Doctor Darby: "I did not know that."

In three or four other cases where the administrative council protested against the bills pending before the Congress, the members of the Committee calmly informed Doctor Darby that this was already in the law.

The storm really broke out when Representative Holaday asked: "Now, can you suggest any felony for which a man is sent to the penitentiary for a year or more that you think would be a hardship, or that you consider a slight offense?"

Doctor Darby: "The thought in my mind is that an alien might commit an offense because of the fact that he is an alien and not familiar with the country or the laws of the country that might appear to him not to be something which is contrary to law, because he had not known about it very much."

Representative Holaday: "Can you suggest an offense of this kind?"

Chairman Johnson: "Take a liquor violation first. What do you think about that?"

Doctor Darby: "I think that the law regarding liquor violations ought to be quite clear."

Chairman Johnson: "An alien who inadvertently gets into the bootlegging game is sent up for one year. What is his status to be as regards deportation?"

Doctor Darby: "That answer would be purely my own and not as representative of the Federal Council."

Chairman Johnson: "Well, I would like to have the Federal Council's views, but you can speak for yourself."

Doctor Darby: "I would say in connection with that matter that the law appears to be sufficiently well-known and if deportation is the wise course, I see no objection to it."

Chairman Johnson: "All right, take the next case. What else do you think of, and when you get to speaking for all the churches, let me know. Your last statement was for yourself. Now, we assume you are going to speak for the churches."

Doctor Darby: "Mr. Chairman. The action which is here asked and which I am endeavoring to bring before you came before the committee in New York when I was not there, and I am not as well informed on these points as the gentleman who expected to be here except for illness."

Chairman Johnson: "Very well, you are here as a representative of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, and you are reading a paper in which you are told of the objection to the deportation of people convicted and imprisoned for a term of one or more years, and you are speaking for the churches."

Representative Holaday: "What offense would you suggest should not be included in that?"

Doctor Darby: "Mr. Chairman, I am not sufficiently acquainted with the law to be able to answer that question."

Representative Free: "This came under my notice. It seems in a certain country it is customary for a man who wants a girl who does not want to marry him, to go out and kidnap the girl and then rape her, and then say, 'You had better marry me because you have been ruined anyway.' The parents of the boy

and his relatives, the women, entered into the scheme to help the man carry it out. They were aliens. They were arrested and tried and they were sent to the penitentiary for rape. Do you think that being a custom in that country whence they came, that that was a crime for which they should not be deported?"

Doctor Darby: "I think they should be in that case."

Representative Free: "Well, they were following a custom of the country from which they came."

Doctor Darby: "I cannot be responsible for these particular items."

Representative Free: "Do you believe, or does that organization believe, that the person who is three times given a sentence of six months in jail, has committed no crime, and is a good citizen and should remain here?"

Doctor Darby: "There might be cases, where a man because of the circumstances involved, would not be a criminal in the sense in which we use that word; you know that might be the case."

Representative Free: "You think he is a good citizen?"

Doctor Darby: "I do not know; that would depend upon the individual case involved. There would be a question against it certainly."

And in this manner is the controlling group of the Federal Council of Churches, under the direction of the American Civil Liberties Union, assuming to voice the sentiment of 20,000,000 church members.

Chapter V

CONSPIRING WITH THE RADICALS

WHILE William Z. Foster was witnessing in Russia a review of the largest conscripted army of the world, his comrades of the American Civil Liberties Union were organizing and financing a movement to abolish even voluntary military training of your men in America. The term "comrade" is used in the communistic and socialistic sense. The subversives have profaned this endearing greeting of comrade which was originally used by the veterans of the Civil War.

We pause to remark that in reading the great mass of literature that the subversives of every type have been producing, not a word of protest against the maintenance by Soviet Russia of a larger army than the German Imperial Army is found. Russia has not only compulsory training but compulsory service in time of peace. This does not appear to the Federal Council of Churches and its chief ally, the American Civil Liberties Union, as a menace to the peace of the world. A skeleton regular army, a month's voluntary training in the summer camps, and a Navy below the treaty ratio in America, to the internationally minded, is militarism and a threat to the peace of the world. They are proceeding on

the assumption that the only way to preserve peace is to disarm the United States. Every gesture on the part of Congress or the authorities at Washington to carry out the provisions of the National Defense Act, or to maintain the Navy at the strength authorized by the Washington Arms Conference, is met by violent protest from the Federal Council of Churches, and its affiliated advisory and cooperative pink and red organizations. Up to a year ago the Federal Council confined itself principally to opposition to any increase in the regular army. Radicals or liberals, as they sometimes call themselves, have always been opposed to the maintenance of an Army and Navy. Some have gone as far as the abolishment of the Army and Navy altogether and others have favored a national police policy for the regular establishment. There are several groups that have been violently opposed to the National Guard and not too friendly to even the maintenance of a police force. While subversives have been unfriendly even to the police, they have been ever ready to call on the police for protection when threatened by a crowd which has objected to their preaching against the government and society.

Recently the subversives have directed their attacks against military training in schools and colleges and summer camps. Particularly are they opposed to military training in schools and colleges. Three or four years ago the extreme left of the radicals began to organize for a drive against military training which finally resulted in the introduction of the Walsh Bill, the ultimate objective of which is to do away with all military training, despite the fact

that it is carrying the colors of opposition to compulsory military training in the schools and colleges. This attitude on the part of all radicals is due to the results that were being obtained under the National Defense Act in training of the younger men in the camps and schools. It was observed by the subversives that the military courses in the schools and colleges consist as much of patriotic instruction as military training. Students who take military training either in the camps or colleges are being taught respect for the flag and love of country. These are principles to which subversive organizations object. When they talk of militarism in the colleges they do not refer to the military art as studied in the regular Army and Navy service schools, but to the doctrine of patriotism and respect for American institutions. This they recognize as opposed to international mindedness.

The first witness that the Civil Liberties Union introduced before the House Committee on Military Affairs in support of the Walsh Bill insisted that the training provided for is of no military value. He was Kenneth Walser, who said:

"These boys study the subject and have military training for three hours a week. I say that the college boy or high school boy who studies close order drills for three hours a week during his college course knows next to nothing about military training, knows practically no more when he gets through than if he had not studied close order drill at all; that is, from a military standpoint."

He declared that he entertained the highest respect for regular officers and expressed the opinion that

they would agree with him in this view. While the military authorities will admit that they cannot make a professional soldier with the limited training received in the schools and colleges, much of the unnecessary loss of blood and treasure would have been avoided in the World War if the country had had the same reserve corps and national guard that it has at present.

But if the students in high schools and colleges are receiving such meager military instruction as is described by Mr. Walser, how can the opponents of the system maintain that it is creating militarism in our educational institutions? With a few hours a week training, while the boys are devoting all the rest of the time to other studies, how can they be indoctrinated with militarism?

A careful analysis of all of the arguments emanating from these sources shows clearly that it is not against military training but against patriotic instruction that the drive is being made. The word militarism is used to disguise their purpose. A number of witnesses declared that the training created exaggerated nationalism and destroyed international mindedness.

It is not surprising that this should be their line of attack when it is known that the movement to abolish all military training originated with the controlling group of the American Civil Liberties Union, was financed by the Garland free-love socialist fund, and is supported by the left wing of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. This is an assurance of its subversive character.

It was in September of 1925, at a "students" conference at Swarthmore College that the plans of the subversives for a drive against military training became known. At this conference, Dr. John Nevin Sayre, in a report to the Fellowship of Reconciliation, announced that a pamphlet by Winthrop D. Lane, a recognized socialist, had been written and that it was to be financed by the American fund for public service, better known as the Garland Fund. This is the fund that was turned over to the controlling group of the American Civil Liberties Union, of which Doctor Sayre is a member. The donor of the fund is Charles Garland, the socialist of free-love farm fame. He served a term in jail for his alleged relations with a young woman on his farm. The fund was originally about $900,000 but it was so invested that it is reported to have increased to over a million. Doctor Sayre in testifying before the Military Committee of the House admitted on June 15, 1926, that a little over $5,400 had been received from the Garland Fund for the circulation of the Lane pamphlet. He expected to secure more before the campaign was over.

In a letter signed by Roger N. Baldwin, upon American Civil Liberties Union stationery, it is stated that the four incorporators of the Garland Fund are Norman T. Thomas, Lewis Gannet, Robert Morss Lovett, and Roger N. Baldwin. These incorporators have elected to serve with them as the executive committee, Prof. Harry F. Ward, James Welden Johnson, Rabbi Judah Magness, Scott Nearing, William Z. Foster, and Miss Mary E. McDowell.

Upton Sinclair, in a circular letter, in 1925, stated that "the American Fund for Public Service had voted to finance the publication of a series of standard works of literature and education in the service of the movement for workers' emancipation. The series to contain 200 titles, to be put on the market at the lowest possible price. It will be known as such titles as 'The Workers' Classics' and 'The Radical Classics.' I have been asked to become the editor of a series; an advisory editorial board of twenty or thirty persons will be appointed. The class is of the socialist, communist, anarchist, single-tax, cooperative, and other wings to be represented." According to the circular the committee of the Garland Fund had voted $100,000 for this work.

This statement by Upton Sinclair in connection with the personnel of its trustees is a sufficient guarantee that the Garland Fund was to be used for subversive purposes. At the "students conference" at Swarthmore it was agreed that the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Fellowship of Youth for Peace were to conduct the campaign, using the Lane pamphlet as its text book. A bulletin from the Fellowship of Youth for Peace states:

"A systematic campaign focused against compulsory military training will be launched this month by a special joint committee of which Dr. Nevin Sayre is chairman and Ray Wilson is secretary. The major burden of the follow-up work will fall upon our fellowship. The committee is preparing for an extensive campaign against militarism in the educational institutions of the United States.

"Abolition of compulsory military training in colleges; abolition of all drills in the high schools; investigation of teachings in summer C. M. T. C's.; exposure of military propaganda; and disassociation of military drill from general educational institutions—these are the objectives of the campaign. Among the institutions where the issue of the R.O.T.C. has come to a head this fall are Missouri State, Minnesota and Ohio Universities.

"The fellowship is united with the Council of Christian Association and other student organizations in calling a World Court Students' Conference in the greater Boston District—for December 4, 5, and 6 at which representatives of all college groups will work out a campus peace program. This will be followed in March by a Greater Boston Youth conference composed of delegates from religious, industrial, and student groups."

Evidently the methods of this radical organization were too crude, and Dr. John Nevin Sayre brought another one into existence. It was a self-appointed "Committee on Militarism in Education" of which he is chairman. It was then that the Federal Council of Churches came openly into the movement. The Lane pamphlet was given to the public by Arthur W. Hungerford, publicity director of the Federal Council of Churches. Then Dr. Samuel M. Cavert, one of the general secretaries of the Federal Council of Churches, on March 10, 1926, completely established the contact between the ecclesiastic organization with the Lane pamphlet and the Garland free-love socialistic fund. He did it by joining with Doctor Sayre in an appeal for the distribution of the pam-

phlet. In this manifesto, which was published in a radical paper, Doctor Cavert and Doctor Sayre condensed all of the arguments of the Lane pamphlet. A quotation from the appeal will give the general character of the Lane pamphlet and the doctrine to which the controlling group of the Federal Council were attempting to commit twenty million church members. In referring to military training the joint letter said:

"Its actual value for the purposes of national defense is very low. It is even lower for the means of promoting public physical health and ideals of right citizenship. But as the means of keeping alive the military view of life its value is high. The military view of life is opposed to freedom of speech and conscience, and to faith, reason and good will as the foundation of security.

"Many of our finest young students who come closest in contact with military training see this clearly. The Evanston Inter-denominational student conference in a resolution widely printed declared for the abolition of military training in high schools and denominational and in all other colleges including land-grant institutions.

"Do our churches mean business? Will they back up their own young people and their own representatives? One concrete opportunity to answer this question with an emphatic 'yes' is furnished by the existence of the Committee on Militarism in Education which issued the widely circulated pamphlet by Winthrop D. Lane.

"The committee seeks help. This can be given by people in two ways, first by sending names and

addresses to the Committee on Militarism in Education; and second, by sending a contribution, however small, to the emergency fund of $5,000 which must be raised to carry on the fight against a process of militarization, which unless stopped will destroy all hope of making America a leader in establishing world peace."

If there is any doubt as to the original intentions of the group which controls the Federal Council to form a solid front with the American Civil Liberties Union and the Garland Fund, it will be only necessary to call attention to the fact that about a month later Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, who broadcasts himself as President of the Federal Council of Churches, came out in an attack upon the reserve officers training corps, at a meeting in the Brooklyn Y.M.C.A. He used all of the data and arguments of the Lane pamphlet and declared that the Reserve Officers' Training Corps was "encouraging belief in violence as the final resort in international differences."

It is the practice of Doctor Cadman at these lectures to announce that he is willing to answer questions from the audience, but when two reserve officers who were in attendance attempted to ask some questions they were ejected from the hall by a policeman who was called by some of the officials of the Y.M.C.A. Thus did Doctor Cadman "encourage" the "belief" in the use of "violence" not "as a final resort" but as the first resort. While preaching against the use of force he used it.

This was all preparatory for the hearings on the Walsh Bill before the Committee on Military Affairs of the House of Representatives, by which the radi-

cals propose to break the backbone of the National Defense Act. Just a word on the Walsh Bill will make it clear that its advocates are misrepresenting it, and shows the hypocrisy of the entire movement. It is being represented as a bill to prohibit compulsory military training in schools and colleges. Neither the War Department nor the Federal Government has any authority to determine whether military training in schools and colleges shall be elective or compulsory. The Federal Government's authority on schools extends only to the Military and Naval Academies, which would not be affected by this bill. In a word the bill prohibits the War Department from detailing regular Army officers to schools where the school authorities make military training compulsory or part of the curriculum. The advocates of the bill by indirection are really attempting to extend the authority of the Federal Government and the War Department over both private and public schools.

But to return to the hearings before the House Committee on Military Affairs on the Walsh Bill. Doctor Frederick Lynch, secretary of the Church Peace Union, and member of the administrative committee of the Federal Council of Churches, appeared in support of the Walsh Bill. He declared that he was a member of the committee that was preparing a resolution expressing the views of the Federal Council of Churches with its constituency of twenty million church members. He gave the Committee the impression that the Federal Council of Churches would endorse the Walsh Bill and called

attention to the address of Doctor Cadman, President of the organization.

Doctor Lynch's testimony was not of a very definite character. The members of the Military Committee could not pin him down to a positive statement that he was personally opposed to military training. He insisted that he was in favor of the National Defense Act and he was for the use of force in the defense of the country. It was apparent to the Committee that Doctor Lynch appeared to create the impression that the churches were supporting the chief witnesses who were W. S. Longseth, of the American Civil Liberties Union, who said he did not think the Revolutionary War or the Civil War were justifiable; and Prof. William Bradley Otis, of the New York City College, who said: "I would rather have my son go to Leavenworth than to take compulsory military training in colleges."

But the country became aroused by the radical drive to destroy military training in colleges and summer camps. The controlling group of the Federal Council became cautious. They shifted their position slightly, as it became apparent that some of them thought they had gone too far in support of the Walsh Bill and the Lane pamphlet.

The Lane pamphlet or the Walsh Bill was not disavowed by the Federal Council nor did it support it as Doctor Lynch assured the Committee it would.

To give the appearance that they were simply studying the subject a pamphlet was issued by the Federal Council or rather the Commission on International Justice and Good Will. In it a great pretense was made to present the facts and both sides

of the question. A labored attempt was made to create the impression that the peace of the world depended upon whether the American boys in schools and colleges and in summer camps took a short period of military training. Two pages and a half of the pamphlet are devoted to arguments in support of military training and almost six pages to pacifism and anti-preparedness. The pamphlet concludes by eight questions, the suggested answers of which are all arguments against military training.

But that the controlling group of the Federal Council of Churches are secretly supporting the Lane pamphlet and those associated with the Garland free-love socialist group was revealed by a call at the headquarters of the Council at New York. A request for the Federal Council's military training pamphlet was met with the polite request for twenty-five cents, but the Lane pamphlet was quietly slipped into the caller's hand without additional cost.

It was a little incident but it fully demonstrated where the interests of the controlling group of the Federal Council lie. The Lane pamphlet, it should be borne in mind, is expressive of the policy of the American Civil Liberties Union with its representative, William Z. Foster, in Russia attending grand reviews of the red army which is based on compulsory service and has a strength greater than the German Imperial Army when the Kaiser was a real war lord.

Chapter VI

HELPFUL HINTS FOR SERMONS

"HELPFUL hints to the pastor for sermons" comprise a large part of the literature which is poured out of the headquarters of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. They are sent out from the Council's headquarters at New York in every conceivable form from large volumes to small bulletins.

Any drive at Washington for legislation, or for international treaties is preceded with a barrage of "helpful hints for sermons." Often it is in the form of an appeal to the pastors to preach sermons so that the sentiment of the churches can be mobilized in support of some program which has been adopted by the controlling group of the administrative committee. Matters are taken up which have never even been discussed at the quadrennial meeting of the Federal Council or even the executive committee. The League of Nations and the World Court were included in the Federal Council's program but military training never was, but a drive was made against it all the same. Annually, the controlling group of the administrative committee becomes active just before Armistice Day. It has been patent ever since the war that the controlling group of the

administrative committee is determined to direct the manner in which Armistice Day is celebrated. Suggestion is made in their literature to the pastors that the World War veterans should be invited to the Armistice observance in the churches, but it is apparent that the leaders of the Federal Council do not intend to allow the American Legion to assume the control of Armistice Day celebrations if they can avoid it.

But these "helpful hints to pastors" is a year-around program. No doubt you have been profoundly surprised that your pastor in his sermon developed a sudden interest in international and secular affairs. To your surprise he turned aside from his usual line of thought on the reliance upon Christ for the salvation of mankind and called upon the authorities at Washington instead of Divine help. Of course, your pastor was not conscious of any loss in the faith of Christ. Perhaps he was hard pressed with the many social and welfare demands of his parish. He was groping about in his mind for a topic for his next Sunday's sermon, when he opened his mail and found a complete outline for one. It may have been prepared by George W. Wickersham, the international lawyer, or Dr. Sidney L. Gulick, of Japan, but it bore the pretentious seal of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. Your pastor has no time to check up on it to determine whether it squared with the facts of history. He has been too busy with his pastoral duties to give much thought to international or secular affairs and accepted the Federal Council as an authority on such matters. He proceeded to

prepare his sermon on lines laid down by the Wickersham-Gulick group in the Federal Council of Churches.

Again he may take his topic and argument from his church paper. Even then he does not escape from the insidious influence of the controlling group of the Federal Council. Part of the Federal Council organization is the Editorial Council of the Religious Press, through which to an alarming extent internationalism and pacifism is being spread.

For example: The International Sunday School lesson for November 7, 1926, was "The Fall of Jericho," as related in Joshua, sixth chapter. Now, the New York Advocate, the official organ of our church, embarrassed by the necessity of handling this story, since it is a canonical Scripture, in its commentary spends much time and agility in endeavoring to prove that this episode was purely a non-military episode. The commentator says, "Jericho was not taken by a soldier, nor in a military way." Then he says, still embarrassed but still agile, "The way the walls fell is not what I am interested in, but why they fell." "Read," the commentator says, "Read Genesis and Deuteronomy and you will find out why the city fell. You will also learn that the Jews were warned that if they should repeat the city's sins they too would follow in the downfall. God would have no more difficulty in taking the land from the Jew than he had in taking it from the Amorites. God is a moralist, not a nationalist." And again, in the following paragraph he says: "The story clearly sets forth that the city was not taken by the

soldier. The walls were not blown down by dynamite!"

This was some time before dynamite was thought of, but this was a mere detail to our commentator.

Finally, in his "Questions for Discussion" the commentator, hoping to lead his readers as safely as may be around the embarrassing difficulty, asks this question first: "Which is the most important, the fact or the way of telling?" Still apologizing, you observe, for the Bible's crude, naive way of telling us about this whole Jericho business. And for his final kick at the brutal American Citizen in the uniform of his country, he asks the question: "Should the soldier be a model for men?"

Now, I beg of you, stand back a few feet and look at something interesting. You will have to admit that the man who can build a Philippic against military employment, upon the groundwork of the story of the Fall of Jericho, is no mean expert in exigesis. In slang phrase, "We've got to hand it to him." But wait a minute. He stayed well away from one verse. Let us quote that verse, "So the Lord was with Joshua." Josh. 6:27.

Let us look at the Jericho story a moment, and see whether the Lord was as hostile toward the idea of an armed man in uniform as our commentator is. Of course, the commentator does a bit of apology for the Lord when he ventures to say, "God is not mixed up with war because He likes war but because He loves man." But—just how much was God mixed up in this Canaanitish War?

First, God gave Joshua his commission as Commander-in-Chief. "Now after the death of Moses,

the Lord spoke unto Joshua saying, 'Moses is dead. Now therefore arise, go over Jordan, thou and all this people, unto the land which I do give to them. There shall not any man be able to stand before thee. Be strong and courageous.'"

Second, God gave Joshua, his military general, specific instructions from time to time, as to the manner in which he was to approach and take the hostile cities.

The commentator says, "When Joshua crossed the Jordan, he put the priests first; when he invested the city, he put the soldiers before the priests; that was his arrangement, not the Lord's."

Now, the Bible says, "See I have given unto thy hand Jericho, and the King thereof, and the mighty men of valor (enemy shock troops). And ye shall compass the city with all ye men of war (infantry, cavalry, artillery and anti-aircraft) and go round the city once. Thus shall ye do six days. And seven priests shall bear before the ark, seven trumpets of ram's horns; and the seventh day ye shall compass the city seven times (i.e. with the soldiers) and the priests shall blow with the trumpets. And when the wall shall fall flat, the people shall ascend up, every man straight before him." (In other words, all were to execute the command "Left face, for-ward, charge!") And the armed men went before the priests that blew the trumpets, and the gathering hosts followed in the rear of the priests. The sacred ark in the center of the column, as our flags are carried today.

Now, this plan must have been satisfactory to the Lord; for after Joshua had followed this plan accord-

ing to his orders for a week, the Lord cooperated by causing the walls to fall. The Lord furnished the heavy preliminary artillery of heaven, but He specifically gave the rather bloody job of mopping up to the infantry under General Joshua. And as you have read, they made a rather thorough job of it.

And do not assume that the Lord overlooked any little details which General Joshua might have put in on his own motion. No, no. For example, the orders were specific that all the spoils of war should accrue to the Lord's treasury; and when one of the Israelites, Achan by name, hid out some of the captured gold for his own use, the anger of the Lord was kindled, and He caused the soldiers of Ai to kill 36 Israelites in the next battle, and to chase them all day; and the curse of Achan's deed was removed only when they had taken him and all his family out and put them to death.

Then God told General Joshua to fear no longer, but to go out and do to the City of Ai what he (i.e. Joshua) had done to Jericho. And Joshua took 30,000 proved and trained soldiers out in a night attack and by a stratagem led the infantry of Ai into ambush; and at the Lord's command the Jewish infantry took the city and set it on fire and hanged the King, and destroyed all the people.

Throughout all this whole Biblical story of the conquest of Canaan, there runs the intimate account of the operation of the hand of God through the military cooperation of Joshua, the Chief of Staff whom God not only appointed but as well directed throughout all his battles. In his eagerness to say a word against the modest defense policy of his

country, a country which stands today with the most non-militaristic record among all the great states of earth, the Advocate commentator has the temerity to blame God's Field Marshal for doing the things God directed him to do. That subterfuge is but one step removed from an accusation against God himself; for Joshua, from the only records we have, was meticulous in following the details of God's commands.

The commentator fences again, and says, "It may be difficult to associate God with the sacking of the City of Jericho. History is gory, but the white God is mixed up with it all."

May we not paraphrase the commentator thus, without violence to logic: "It may be difficult for us to associate God with the recapture of the city of Louvain. History is gory, but the white God is mixed up with it all. He is mixed up with the thousands of brave, trained, armed police officers who make the commentator's city a somewhat safe place to live in. He is mixed up with the 100,000 Canadians who with their breasts staunched the horror of Lille. He is mixed up with the ragged Cuban soldiers who hid in the swamps until America came with her soldiers, also mixed up with God, and helped them to make possible those happy Methodist schools and hospitals and churches in Cuba today."

And the commentator closes his distorted exposition by asking the question, "Should the soldier be a model for men?"

But why this insult to every man who wore the uniform from Lexington to the Meuse-Argonne? It

cannot be justified even in the Biblical account of the Fall of Jericho.

The soldiers were only defending the faith of their forefathers as directed by God through his Chief of Staff. Theirs was only to obey the command of Joshua who communicated to them the will of the Lord of Hosts. It was the priests who were trumpeting for the war upon the Canaanites.

And no great soldier has trumpeted for war in this country. Even in the colonial days it was not Washington who trumpeted for the French and Indian War. It was what happened in London and Paris which had brought on the French and Indian War.

There are no records of Washington having made a "Give me liberty or give me death" speech in the trumpeting that preceded the Revolutionary War. He was not a guest at the Boston Tea Party. There is no record of his participating in any of the agitation which brought on the War of Independence. With his wealth Washington should naturally have been a Tory, but when his country called he was ready to defend it. For this he is to be held up to scorn according to the commentator.

How much did the heroes of the War of 1812, Captain Hull and Commodore Perry, have to do with that conflict? It is doubtful whether they knew what it was all about. They simply responded to the call of the Commander-in-Chief of the Navy. It was Congress and the State Department which decided the country should not submit to the British aggressions on the high seas.

Neither did General Scott nor General Taylor trumpet for the Mexican War. Here again were two

soldiers who had very little or no knowledge of why they were sent against Mexico.

In the Civil War, what did Grant and Lee have to do with bringing on that great conflict? Lee was in the regular Army and Grant, a former regular officer, was in a tannery. It is not of record that they participated in the pre-war agitation which brought on the great conflagration. In thundering tone, the pulpit of the North trumpeted against slavery; the statesmen stirred the country with the discussion of States rights. If the country had waited for Lee, Grant, or any of the other great soldiers of the Civil War to start it there would never have been a conflict between the North and the South.

Will some prating pacifist tell us what Pershing had to do with putting this country into the World War? He and most of the leaders of the American Expeditionary Force were on the Mexican border trying to keep peace there when they were called to Washington and sent overseas. The war over, Pershing retired. There was a dispute between Chile and Peru which threatened war, and the President called on General Pershing to act as a peacemaker. He responded with the same spirit of loyalty as he did when he was ordered to command the American Expeditionary Force in the World War.

A soldier does not bring on war. He does not trumpet for war. He only defends the country when it is in war with the hope of early peace.

Assuming that they have a grade school knowledge of history it cannot be because they think soldiers promote war that the pacifists are making a drive against every man who is now wearing or has

worn the uniform. They are simply striving to place the country in a defenseless condition. They are even invading the sacred portals of the church to bring this about.

"Helpful hints to pastors for their sermons" is not an unimportant part of this pacifist campaign against the security of the Nation.

Chapter VII

A HIGHLY FINANCED MOVEMENT

IF ANY of the twenty-eight denominations or of twenty million church members should at any time object to the political activities of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, they should be advised of the financial strength of the organization. The Federal Council is a corporation under the laws of the State of New York, which has at its command a budget running up into the millions.

In the controlling group are men who are skilled in handling large affairs and conducting propaganda upon an international scale. Among them are George W. Wickersham, one of the highest paid lawyers of this country with international connections in London and Japan. He has at various times been attorney for Mitsui & Company, the largest financial and banking institution in Japan, and is reported to represent some large English banking interests.

But perhaps the most versatile and skilled manipulator is Dr. Sidney L. Gulick, who can preach a powerful sermon on Sunday, and spend the other six days as an international lobbyist. In a brief, filed with the State Department, Mr. V. S. McClatchy, of California, said:

"The moving spirit in this enterprise, the promoter and manager, who bears the the modest title of secretary, is Dr. Sidney L. Gulick, who describes himself on the title pages of some of his writings as 'Professor in Doshisha University, and lecturer of the Imperial University of Kyoto, Japan.'

"Dr. Gulick was born of missionary parents in the Far East and reared with adopted oriental children. He was educated in America and returned to Japan as a missionary about thirty years ago and has made his home there since. He is an able man, speaks Japanese, and has written books on the Japanese.

"In 1913 he left Japan on a furlough and has been in America since at work in promoting his 'new oriental policy.'"

In the earlier reports of the Federal Council he was introduced as Doctor Gulick, of Japan. One report says, "We are fortunate in having with us today Doctor Gulick of Japan." It has been a question in Congress for years as to whether his chief source of income is from the Federal Council of Churches. He admits that he formerly drew a salary from the Japanese educational institution, but insists that he turned it in to the Methodist Board of Missions. It is doubtful in the minds of those who know what fees Mr. Wickersham demands for his service as to whether he is on the payroll of the Federal Council of Churches. Reference is made to Mr. Wickersham and Dr. Gulick in this manner to point out that the official report of the Federal Council may not tell the whole story of its finances. There are others connected with the organization who may be serving interests outside of the Council.

The expenditures of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, according to the report of the treasurer, for the year ending December 31, 1925, were: $330,767.36, but this is only a small part of the budget which is at the disposal of the controlling group of the Federal Council. The treasurer's report sets forth that two "separate funds for special causes" were raised and cared for by the treasurer. They were Committee on Religious Work in the Canal Zone, $46,787.23, and Central Bureau for Relief of Evangelical Churches of Europe, $98,233.33, or a total of $145,020.56, which brings the regular expenditures of the Federal Council proper up to $475,787.00, or almost half a million. Then there is the Church Peace Union, which originally had an annual income of $100,000 from the Carnegie Endowment, but which is reported to have been increased to $150,000. This is controlled by the same group that dominates the Federal Council and brings the total up to $625,787.00. In fairness the sum of $11,100 should be deducted from this amount as the Church Peace Union is credited with making this contribution to the Federal Council's budget, to be expended by the International Justice and Good Will Commission, and for the Commission on the Council of Churches.

It is realized that there will be violent protests from certain officials of the Federal Council when it is stated that contributions from the Garland Free Love Socialist Fund should be added to the budget of the controlling group of the Federal Council of Churches. A careful scanning of the testimony of Dr. John Nevin Sayre, of the American Civil Liber-

ties Union, in the hearing before the Committee on Military Affairs of the House of Representatives will reveal that he admitted that about forty-five thousand dollars for the campaign against military training in schools and colleges had come from the Garland Fund. He furthermore said that he expected a larger contribution from that source. As has been pointed out in previous chapters, the controlling group of the Federal Council of Churches cooperated with Dr. Sayre and his self-appointed committee in the campaign against military training, and of course, in the expenditures in the Garland Free Love Socialist Fund. Active in this campaign with Dr. Sayre were Rev. S. Parkes Cadman, president of the council; Rev. Samuel McCrea Cavert, general secretary; Dr. Sidney L. Gulick, and Arthur W. Hungerford, director of publicity for the Federal Council of Churches.

Another organization that is cooperating with the Federal Council group and appears to be under its direction is the National Council for the Limitation of Armaments which is quite as radical as the American Civil Liberties Union, and has a budget which is estimated at from fifty to seventy-five thousand dollars.

In addition to the national organization with its large expenditures, there are Federal Councils of Churches in forty cities which, according to the annual report of the general secretary, maintain headquarters and salaried officers. A very conservative estimate of these expenditures would be a half million dollars. Ten thousand dollars a year is a small budget with which to pay a secretary, stenog-

raphers, clerks, and the rent of the headquarters of a city federal council of churches.

In justice to these local organizations, it can be said that not all of them are working under the direction of the controlling group of the Federal Council. Many of them are absolutely independent and are devoting their energies to the original purpose for which the Federal Council was created. A somewhat extended investigation of their activities developed that the officers of some of them throw most of the literature which is sent from national headquarters in the waste basket. They are not concerned with the League of Nations, the World Court, the foreign debt and other political issues which are consuming most of the time and funds of the national organization.

This independent attitude of part of the city federal councils has been giving the controlling group at the national headquarters considerable concern. To overcome this a general field secretary has been appointed who no doubt is expected to line up the local organizations more closely behind the national and international political program of the general headquarters. The controlling group is reaching out to get its hands upon the local organizations and direct the expenditures of their funds.

On March 1, 1926, according to an announcement made in New York and printed in all the daily papers, Sir Henry Lunn, who has amassed a fortune of millions from his English tourist agency, placed at the disposal of the controlling group of the Federal Council an endowment that probably exceeds the Carnegie donation. These funds are being handled

without any blare of trumpets and there is no mention of these in Federal Council's reports.

"Sir Henry came to America," says the announcement, "under the auspices of the World's Alliance for the International Friendship through the Churches." This is an organization which was formed at the conference at Constance, Germany, which was called by the Federal Council of Churches and the Church Peace Union. It has been inactive until recently when it gave out a statement protesting against appropriations for three light cruisers which were authorized by the Act of 1924. The statement given out by the World's Alliance for the International Friendship through the Churches was also signed by Dr. Sidney L. Gulick, George W. Wickersham, and a number of others who are prominent in the Federal Council of Churches.

In his statement, Sir Henry declared that he intended to turn over all of the fortune aside from that which was required for his own living expenditures, to a board of trustees of an incorporated society. Evidently, this will be another endowment like the Carnegie to which the internationalists in the churches can go for funds to promote their program. Sir Henry Lunn is a member of the League of Nations Union and, of course, is anxious to draw the United States into that organization.

An effort was made to obtain the list of "the contributions from individuals" which the annual report of the treasurer states produced $164,107.35, for the year of 1925. An appeal had recently been sent out for additional funds in which the Federal Council styled itself the "spokesman and servant of

the Protestant churches," adding, "with large responsibilities — responsibilities fraught with momentous consequences to the church, community, the nation and the world."

"A campaign to create public opinion for the entrance of the United States into the Permanent Court of International Justice has been pursued with such vigor that it is generally agreed that the churches are the greatest single factor in bringing this about. * * * The greatest hope for America doing its full part in securing world peace lies in the hundred thousand local churches and more than twenty million church members that comprise the direct constituency of the Federal Council."

This was an appeal for an addition of $150,000 to the Federal Council's budget and appeared to be directed at large financial interests who are interested in involving the United States in the World Court and League of Nations to increase the values of their investments in Europe.

To determine whether this was a correct conclution a letter was written to Dr. Cadman asking for the privilege of looking over the list of the contributors to the Federal Council. The letter was referred by Dr. Cadman to Rev. Charles S. MacFarland, one of the general secretaries, and in the course of his reply he said:

"This information is fully given in the printed annual reports, and in addition any reputable person is privileged to examine the Treasurer's books and the auditors' reports any time. All sources are printed in full except individual contributors, of whom there are about twenty thousand."

This appeared to be an assurance that consent would be given for a careful examination of the Federal Council's books.

Dr. MacFarland was not at the New York headquarters when a call was made in accordance with this promise. Dr. Cavert, the other general secretary, assured the callers that the Council had nothing to conceal and that the books of the treasurer would be open to them.

In glancing over the large card index containing a list of the contributors it was found that the larger contributors were credited with a number of donations and that it would be quite a task to get any definite idea as to just what was the chief source and character of the Council's income. Arrangement was made with the chief clerk by which the clerks in the office were to copy a list of the larger contributors after office hours and they were to be paid by the callers. With this understanding, it was arranged that a call would be made on the following day at which time this information would be furnished.

On the following day the chief clerk stated that she had instructions not to give out the information. For three days the callers were referred from one official of the Federal Council to another without making any progress. Various excuses were given for not giving a list of the larger contributors.

To make the refusal a matter of record the following letter was addressed to Dr. McFarland:

"I would appreciate it very much if you would furnish me with a list of the individual contributors to the support of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. I would like to get the specific

information as to every source of income the Council has had. Any necessary expenses in making copies of this data for me, I will, of course, gladly pay.

"I am enclosing herewith a self-addressed envelope and may I express the hope that I will hear from you in regard to this matter at your earliest convenience."

The reply to this letter came from Frank H. Mann, president of the Union Mortgage Company, 60 Broadway, New York, N. Y., who said:

"As Treasurer of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, there has been referred to me your letter of July 14th, asking us to furnish you a list of the individual contributors to the support of the Federal Council of Churches. No officer of the organization, so far as I know, would have any authority to furnish such a list as you require. A very full report of the Council's financial transactions is printed in its Annual Reports, and I am sure that the Board of Finance would be very glad to permit the Treasurer to supplement this information. It would seem to me doubtful that they would authorize the treasurer or any other officer to furnish a complete list of the names of the individuals who have subscribed during the past year or during the past years."

In another effort to secure some definite information as to the finances of the Federal Council the following was written to Mr. Mann:

"Am I to interpret this letter as a positive refusal on the part of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America to furnish me a list of the individual contributors to the support of the Federal Council of Churches?

"You state in your letter: 'No officer of the

organization, so far as I know, would have any authority to furnish such a list as you require.' Do you know of any provision in your constitution and by-laws which prohibits any officer of the Federal Council of Churches from furnishing such a list, or do you know of any resolution of the Council itself, the executive committee, or the administrative committee, which prohibits the furnishing of such a list? If so, I will appreciate it if you will give me reference to the constitution or to such resolution, and when such resolution was passed. Do you know of any good reason why a list of the contributors to the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, together with the amounts of their contributions, should not be open to the public?

"It would seem to me that any public organization such as the Council is supposed to be, that neither the Treasurer, the Secretary, nor any other duly qualified administrative officer of the Council would have to have specific authority to grant such a list. In fact, I am rather astonished that the list is not at all times open to public inspection."

Still hedging, with a determination not to go on record as saying "no" to requests for this information, Mr. Mann replied as follows:

"If there is specific information about the activities of the Federal Council of Churches or about their receipt and expenditure of moneys, I shall be very glad to present to the proper committee or committees any request from you which may be made in writing for specific information.

"The books of accounts were audited by certified public accountants of national reputation. A very

complete report of its financial operations is published and widely circulated. The Council has nothing to conceal in connection with its financial program, and as I said before, I shall be glad to present to the proper committees any request you may make in writing for specific information about the Council's work."

In glancing over the list of contributors before the door was closed against an examination of the treasurer's books, it was noted that the names of Paul Warburg, John D. Rockefeller, The Phelps-Stokes Foundation, Elihu Root, the Altman Foundation, Robert Fulton Cutting, Peter Grimm, and Mrs. Jas. Leigh Laidlaw appeared.

But why this secrecy as to who is contributing to the support of the Federal Council of Churches? This is not characteristic of churches. Churches are in the habit of refusing contributions from a doubtful source. Men who contribute to religious organizations take pride in it. In raising money to build a church or pay a church debt the names of the contributors are broadcasted to the public. There is more secrecy about the origin of the fund for the support of the Federal Council of Churches than those of political parties of today.

There is a law which compels candidates of political parties to report the names of contributors and the amounts they contribute. As the Federal Council of Churches is now engaged in political activity, its controlling group should be required to make the same reports that candidates and political parties do. There should not be even the "appearance of evil" in dealing with affairs of the churches.

Chapter VIII

NOT A DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTION

A CHURCH makes no pretensions of being a democratic institution. Neither in its local government or general government does a majority of the members rule. Pastors and priests are not elected by a popular vote. Neither are the bishops nor any of the higher officials of the church. Perhaps the Methodist-Episcopal and the Catholic Churches are the furthest from the government of a majority of the laymen or members. Yet these two denominations are the strongest and are gaining strength every year. There is no general demand on the part of the layman to govern the churches or even to shape their religious doctrines.

A man or a woman gives no thought to the political views of the pastor or priest when he joins the church. Those of us who do not inherit our religion are attracted to a church by its doctrines or the preaching of some pastor. More attention is paid to the robes of a preacher than his utterances upon the League of Nations, the World Court, preparedness or even the tariff. The appearance of a Methodist minister Sunday morning in his pulpit with the robes of a Catholic priest would be fraught with serious consequences. Just what the bishop would

do in such a case is not known as there is none of record.

What would happen if a Catholic priest appeared at his altar in a business suit or even a frock coat we do not feel competent even to suggest. It is for the reader to use his imagination in drawing a picture of the developments if a Methodist pastor and a Catholic priest should exchange their robes in the manner indicated.

But if your pastor launches into an impassioned appeal for this nation to enter the League of Nations, the World Court, without any safeguarding reservation, the incident passes with slight or no comment from the congregation. He may advocate in the name of peace the cancellation of the foreign debt or oppose any form of preparedness without any serious dissension in the congregation.

As the brothers and sisters pass out or on their way home you will frequently hear such remarks as this: "Our pastor is an earnest soul. How he would like to take the whole world up in his arms and remake it so there would be no more sin or sorrow. Of course he does not understand what all of this League of Nations and World Court means."

Even the women of the church take the pastor seriously on political affairs. They expect him to advocate anything that has the appearance of promoting peace and rarely demand of him that he make an investigation of any of these great subjects.

At the same time the pastor's sermon may receive a scarehead in the local paper depending upon the enterprise of the publicity agent of the church or the popularity of the pastor. His utterances out-

side of the church are frequently taken as an expression of the sentiment of the congregation on great national and international questions.

This lack of any effort on the part of the clergy to obtain the views of the congregation on great political issues is characteristic of the Federal Council of Churches. The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America consists of representatives of twenty-eight denominations. They are: Northern Baptist Convention, National Baptist Convention, Free Baptist Churches, Christian Church, Churches of God in N. A. (General Eldership), Congregational Churches, Disciples of Christ, Evangelical Church, Evangelical Synod of N. A., Friends, Methodist Episcopal Church, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, African M. E. Church, African M. E. Zion Church, Colored M. E. Church in America, Methodist Protestant Church, Moravian Church, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., Presbyterian Church in the U. S. (South), Primitive Methodist Church, National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Reformed Church in America, Reformed Church in the U. S., Reformed Episcopal Church, Seventh Day Baptist Churches, United Brethren Church, United Presbyterian Church and the United Lutheran Church, consultive body.

The Federal Council which meets once in four years consists of about four hundred members officially designated by the denominations. Each denomination is entitled to four members and one member for every fifty thousand communicants or major fraction thereof.

This is the description given in the official reports of the Federal Council. There is no record of any of the members of the Council receiving instructions from the different churches. The heads of the different denominations are authorized to represent their churches and designate their members for the Federal Council. There is no record of any denomination holding an election to select its representative in the Federal Council.

The official accounts of the meeting of the Federal Council indicate that the large body of four hundred clergymen with a small sprinkling of laymen have little to do with shaping the policy of the Council. A "business committee" is appointed which is very appropriately named, for it conducts all of the business of the quadrennial meeting. A splendid program of sermons, music, and devotional exercises is occasionally interrupted by voting to approve resolutions reported by the "business committee." There is no indication of a majority or minority report and the whole affair proceeds like the well-oiled machine of a political convention.

Then the Council adjourns for four years and turns over the business of speaking for twenty million church members to an executive committee. Even this executive committee meets only once a year and the character of its proceedings is very much like that of the Federal Council itself with its four hundred members.

It is in the administrative committee that the controlling group of the General Council directs the affairs of the great organization. It is here where group control is made possible, through provisions

of the by-laws of the organization. Section 2 of Article VI sets forth the key position occupied by the administrative committee in the following language:

"The commissions and standing committees shall be subject to the administrative committee and shall report to it and through it to the executive committee and Council."

The control of the administrative committee is vested in a small group, and in fact, in the President's hands through the manner prescribed for its selection.

In Article IV the manner of selecting the administrative committee is provided "(a) of one delegate of each of the bodies composed in the Council, nominated by the proper authorities of the bodies represented." This gives the twenty-eight denominations composing the Federal Council twenty-eight members of this important committee. The article starts out as if the administrative committee is to be at least representative of the clergy of the twenty-eight denominations, but there are three other kinds of members with which the denominations have no direct connection.

Under paragraph (b) of the Article, it is provided: "Of one representative of each agency of organized Christianity which by action of the executive committee may become enrolled in affiliation, cooperation or consultive relations with the Council. Under this provision, according to the report of the Council for 1920–1924, there are fifteen delegates and alternates on the administrative committee. Some of these affiliated and cooperating bodies consist only of a small committee—for instance, the Committee

on Cooperation in Latin-America, and the Council for Home Missions.

It is paragraphs (c) and (d) of this section which places the entire control of the administrative committee in the hands of the President and his group of advisers. Paragraph (c) provides that "chairmen of commissions shall be members of the administrative committee." Under another article the President is authorized to appoint these chairmen and the members of the commission. Paragraph (d) provides for fifteen members of the administrative committee at large which are also appointed by the President. These two provisions give the President the majority of the members of the administrative committee. To leave no doubt in the matter the executive and administrative staff, twelve in number, are members of the administrative committee. There are, of course, those appointed personally by the President, some of whom are in the controlling group. Prominent among these are Rev. Charles S. MacFarland, general secretary; Rev. Samuel McCrea Cavert, general secretary; and Rev. Sidney L. Gulick, secretary, Commission on International Justice and Good Will.

With this organization it is apparent that Doctor Cadman and his group of George W. Wickersham and Doctor Gulick have very little trouble in directing a campaign or propaganda for or against anything. The control is made more secure by incorporating the Federal Council of Churches.

For instance, in the campaign for the World Court a "committee of direction," whatever that is, was created by the Commission on International Justice

and Good Will of which Mr. Wickersham is now chairman, and Doctor Gulick secretary. Quotations from the report of this commission made by Doctor Gulick will give a picture of how the controlling group of the Federal Council works.

"During the spring (1923), it became clear that the Senate would not be likely to accept the proposal unless the entire nation was clearly and strongly behind it. President Harding's sudden death early in August and the advent of President Coolidge made still more problematical favorable action by the Senate.

"Because of this situation the committee of direction of this commission decided that a nation-wide campaign of education on the subject was imperatively needed. Literature was prepared and issued in August proposing the observance of Armistice Day (November 11) as World Court Sunday, and the week preceding as World Court Week. These proposals were approved by the administrative committee early in September. A sixteen-page, two-colored pamphlet entitled "The Churches of America" was prepared with great care, suggestions being received from such outstanding experts as Hon. George W. Wickersham, Hon. Elihu Root, and Mr. Charles T. Howland and others.

"The proposals to observe World Court Week were enthusiastically taken up by the state and civic federations and Councils of Churches, local branches of the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., the Christian Endeavor and also several secular organizations which had already gone on record in support of American membership in the World Court of Justice,

such as the National League of Women Voters, the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the group of societies and movements represented by the National Council for the Prevention of War.

"The Commission's World Court pamphlet was sent to some seventy thousand pastors, but the demand for it was so large that the successive editions brought the total published up' to 131,350. In conference with the National League of Women Voters, a five-minute sermon, to be read by a woman on World Court Sunday, was prepared and issued to the extent of 100,000 copies. A flyer for distribution in pews, entitled 'An Imperative Question for All Citizens,' was issued to the extent of 200,000."

After describing the intensive campaign in the way of inducing members of the organization to flood the Senate with resolutions, petitions and letters that were prepared by the commission and its large corps of employees, the report continues:

"On November 21, a delegation of representative church leaders waited upon President Coolidge and Secretary Hughes, expressing what was believed to be the mind of the churches in regard to American membership in the World Court of Justice.

"The delegation included, as representatives of the Federal Council, Dr. John W. Moore, Chairman of the Administrative Committee, and Drs. MacFarland, Watson and Gulick; as representing particular church bodies, Bishops Freeman and Mann, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Bishop McDowell, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Dr. Radcliffe, of the Presbyterian Church, Dr. Abernathy, of the Baptist Churches North, Dr. Morgan of the Con-

gregational, and Dr. Wilfley, of the Disciples of Christ churches. Hon. George W. Wickersham spoke as representing Christian laymen connected with the churches."

This somewhat extended quotation from the report is made to give a picture of how the wheels go around on the inside of the Council. By this systematic drive the impression was created at Washington that 20,000,000 church members had risen en masse and demanded that the Senate ratify the protocol for the World Court without reservation.

But there was a rude awakening for some of the most prominent senators when they went home to meet their constituents. A majority of the World Court senators who came up for reelection were defeated either at the primaries or the election. A number of senators, when they had gotten in touch with the sentiment of their state, announced that they would introduce resolutions providing for the rescinding by the Senate of its approval of the World Court protocol. President Coolidge, who had urged the ratification of the World Court treaty in his previous message, did not mention it in his last message. In his Kansas City speech he declared that the United States would not consider any proposition for the modification of its reservations and this was virtually a withdrawal of the support of the administration for the World Court as it was organized under the League of Nations.

The campaign of the controlling group of the Federal Council for the World Court was a plain misrepresentation of the sentiment of the church members of the country. If 20,000,000 church

members, or a majority of them, had been for the World Court, their votes and influence would have swept the primaries and the elections. The officials of the Federal Council would have known that there was no sentiment among the great body of church members if they had taken any steps to ascertain it. They were not concerned with the sentiment of their alleged constituency but merely to put through the ratification by the Senate as part of their international program.

Another striking instance of how the controlling group of the Federal Council is assuming to speak for 20,000,000 church members without the least shadow of authority is the publication of the report on prohibition. This was the most extensive report that has ever been issued by the Federal Council. It came out under the seal of the Federal Council and was handled by its publicity director. Throughout the country the impression was created that the Federal Council of Churches had made a thorough investigation of the operations of the Volstead Act and had reached the conclusion that it was a failure. The report was greeted with great enthusiasm by the wet forces.

But it developed that this report like most of its statements, was given out without any action on the part of the executive committee. It created such widespread indignation in church circles that a conference was held at Washington which was attended by Dr. Clarence True Wilson, of the Methodist Temperance and Public Moral Board; Bishop James Cannon, Jr., Chairman of the Committee on Temperance and Social Service of the M. E. Church South; Rev.

Thomas E. Lewis, President of the General Conference Methodist-Protestant Church; Bishop William F. McDowell, Methodist Episcopal Church; and Bishop William Bell, United Brethren Church. At the conclusion of the conference they gave out a signed statement which was a startling exposure of the proceedings in the Federal Council. In course of the statement it is set forth:

"This report was prepared by Rev. F. Ernest Johnson, Secretary of the Research Department of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, and rushed into print with practically no consultation with the Church Temperance Board or agencies, or without submission even to the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council for review or suggestions. Such publication, if made, as it should have been, in the name and on the authority of F. Ernest Johnson would not have been objectionable and the report if so made would probably have secured slight publicity and comment.

"But its publication as supposedly representing the attitude and conclusions of the Federal Council of Churches obtained naturally, and necessarily, tremendous publicity, both for the writer of the report and for the report itself. And whatever may have been the purpose underlying the Johnson report the most striking and important result of the report has been the life injected by it into the enemies of prohibition. Practically every wet leader and every advocate of modification of the Eighteenth Amendment takes this Johnson report (not Federal Council report) as a spring board, heralding it throughout the world as an evidence of the changed attitude of

the American churches towards prohibition. Indeed, so widespread and so positive and emphatic has been and still is this interpretation of the meaning of the Johnson report that the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council was obliged on October 21, 1925, to make a sweeping statement denying that the Federal Council had changed its position on prohibition (which statement, although official, as the Johnson statement was not, received comparatively little publicity). And furthermore, on February 12, 1926, five months after the publication of the Johnson report, the President of the Federal Council has given out an official statement protesting that the attributation to the Federal Council of the interpretation of the Johnson report was a well-nigh unpardonable misrepresentation, indeed, an inexcusable betrayal by a member of the constituent bodies of the Federal Council, fastening upon them responsibility for a report the preparation and publication of which they had never authorized, the substance of which they did not know until it was published, and with the conclusions of which they did not agree then nor do they agree today."

The manner of handling the prohibition report is not an exception but is only typical of the policy of the different groups in the Council of committing 20,000,000 church members on questions of the highest importance. The World Court campaign as has been pointed out was conducted by "a committee of direction." Even the administrative committee knew little of what was taking place and the events that followed in the country demonstrated that the 20,000,000 laymen knew nothing and had no sym-

pathy with it. Still on every occasion when officials of the Federal Council appear at Washington either before President or Congress they claim to represent 20,000,000 church members.

Chapter IX

ITS POLITICAL PLATFORM

IN PREVIOUS chapters frequent mention has been made of the group control of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and its cooperating and allied organizations. From its constitution and by-laws it is shown how absolute is the control of President S. Parkes Cadman and his group of advisers. Dr. Cadman's utterances therefore become of supreme importance in looking into the future of the Federal Council.

A careful survey of his sermons and official statements force two outstanding conclusions. They are:

One: That the Federal Council is to be launched into national and international politics, dealing with questions which have hitherto been outside of the sphere of activity of Protestant churches.

Two: That the Federal Council, or rather the Cadman group, is seeking a united or state church.

Some of the most eminent church leaders have become alarmed at this tendency in the policy of the council. In their private conversations they refer to the Federal Council as a movement to establish Dr. Cadman as the "Protestant Pope of America."

We have in our possession a letter from an eminent divine in New York written in answer to one asking

for his views on the Federal Council as he has been in a position to observe its operation. In the course of this letter he says:

"The Federal Council is simply an attempt to make the League of Nations an ecclesiastical as well as a political tyranny, revive the Holy Roman Empire and prepare the way for the anti-Christ as the world's last great Caesar—previous to the coming of the true Caesar, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords."

But let Dr. Cadman speak for the Federal Council as he is amply qualified to do through his absolute domination of the organization. He does this in an article appearing in the Federal Council's bulletin of May-June, 1926. Under the title of "Present Trends in American Churches," Dr. Cadman writes:

"Prophecy is always risky, but one who surveys present tendencies in American religious life can hardly doubt that there are important trends now at work which are bound to make themselves felt powerfully in years to come. Without presuming to survey these tendencies in any completeness, one can readily point out three.

"In the first place, the American churches are going to grapple courageously with great social and international questions. The day is past when any realm of our economic, industrial, social, political or international life will be regarded as outside the sphere of responsibility of the churches. All over the country, prophetic voices are declaring from the pulpit and in ecclesiastical assemblies that the organized group life of society is to be no less subject to the rule of Christ than the life of the individual.

"When, however, the churches attempt to make their influence felt in moulding public opinion on great public issues, they discover that if they are to do anything effective, they must act far more unitedly than has hitherto been the case. The realization of this fact has led to a second notable trend in American religious life, namely the progress of cooperation among the churches. Few things are more noteworthy in the history of American Christianity during the last two decades.

"The rising tide of interest on the part of the churches in world peace is perhaps the most notable evidence of the way in which the religious forces are moving unitedly forward in the face of new responsibilities. It is the judgment of close observers of the political situation that no single factor has counted for more in the final decision of the United States Government to enter the World Court than the persistent and united activity of the churches in behalf of this step. There is a new consciousness abroad that Protestantism has too easily surrendered to the State in the decision as to great questions which, while in one sense political, are at bottom profoundly moral. The divided state of Protestantism has been especially responsible for its having so nearly abdicated this field in the past. The knitting up of our isolated forces into something like a unified whole will mean much in regaining a moral autonomy for the churches in all ranges of human activity."

In the language of a clergyman, Dr. Cadman outlines a platform for clerical political party. Evidently he thinks that this country is ready for the

creation of a new third party by himself and the group that controls the Federal Council. Nothing in the realm of secular affairs and politics is excluded in his program. Under his plan the Federal Council would not only take charge of the nation's foreign relations and write treaties, but the administrative council of his organization would prepare tax, tariff, river and harbor, good roads and public building bills. It is presumed that eventually the state Federal Councils would plunge into state politics and the city Federal Councils would go into ward politics.

Dr. Cadman is rather impatient that the churches have not taken more part in politics than they have in the past. He declares: "There is a new consciousness abroad that Protestantism has too easily surrendered to the state in the decision as to great questions which, while in one sense political, are at bottom moral. The divided state of Protestantism has been especially responsible for its having so nearly abdicated this field in the past."

Dr. Cadman is by no means visionary. He is not indulging in the discussion of abstract principles. As he has demonstrated in handling the affairs of the Federal Council, he is what is known as a practical politician. Sometimes referred to as a machine politician.

In outlining his plans for the invasion of practical politics, Dr. Cadman in the same bulletin, says:

"The growing recognition of the usefulness of the Federal Council means that the American churches are definitely committed to a policy of cooperation. Whether this will, in time, lead to a united church,

such as has already come into being in Canada, one can hardly prophesy, but there can be no doubt that the present interdenominational activities are bringing about a new spirit of unity anda greater consciousness of the power which a United Church can have."

In this Dr. Cadman shows that he realizes that a clerical-political party and a state church go hand in hand. In order to force through his program he must have the machinery and there must be a union of the organization of all the Protestant Churches. This, of course, he realizes is a rather slow process and must be brought about gradually.

However, Dr. Cadman is not waiting for this union of state and church to draw the churches into politics. In everything that has been written on this subject the activities of the Federal Council have been shown in League of Nations, World Court Affairs, and Immigration legislation. He is now attempting to gradually draw the Federal Council into a campaign for a complete cancellation of the foreign debt. A step in this direction was made by the appointment of George W. Wickersham, a propagandist for the cancellation of foreign debts, as chairman of the Federal Council's Commission on International Justice and Good Will. Dr. Gulick, the secretary of this Commission, is also of the opinion that the foreign debt should be cancelled in the interests of peace.

Recently in a syndicated article Dr. Cadman, as President of the Federal Council of Churches, made his views known on the subject. He asked himself the following question:

"Should we insist upon the payment of the war debts as arranged or provide for some method of their cancellation?" He then answered this question by saying:

"I may be a financial heretic rushing in where angels fear to tread. Yet I confess to the conviction that if Lord Balfour's proposal of August 1, 1923, to wipe clean the slate of international obligations and start afresh had been accepted, the world of trade and politics would have been infinitely better off.

"In my judgment, the United States should not insist upon payment of the war debts due her for the following reasons:

"(1) The debtor nations' obligations to us are far more than offset by our moral obligations to them. For two years they held the lines with terrible losses of men and material in a war which subsequent events made as much our war as theirs.

"(2) We can well afford by cancellation what would be a splendid manifestation of justice and magnanimity, and retain for our Republic the esteem and honor which greeted her noble and disinterested policy of intervention to end the World War.

"(3) The recurrent payment of debtor nations will be regarded by their succeeding generations as tribute exacted from them by their ally for helping 'to make the world safe for democracy.'

"(4) It is highly improbable that any of our former allies except Great Britain and perhaps one or two small states can maintain their respective payments in the face of their huge indebtedness and depreciated currencies.

"(5) It would give them hope and courage for the future, and accelerate the return of that general prosperity in which the United States would participate.

"Secretary Mellon wisely observes that the prosperity of Europe is more valuable to America than all the debts.

"Meanwhile, it is slowly filtering into the national consciousness that to be debt collector of the human race is not an enviable position."

How gracefully Dr. Cadman glides into politics by this statement. For a century Great Britain has been a debt collector and in not entirely out of this class now. You never heard a loyal Britisher suggest that Great Britain was not "in an enviable position." I doubt if you will find in all of Dr. Cadman's writings such a suggestion as he was born in England. A frank statement of Dr. Cadman's reasons for the complete cancellation of the debts would be that it is the bid to buy the good will of Europe by the cancellation of debts that are honestly due the United States. In other words, Dr. Cadman would have the United States pay tribute to Europe in order to maintain peace.

But without entering into a complete discussion of the merits of his proposals, Dr. Cadman's statement indicates that cancellation is on the program of the controlling group of the Federal Council. Dr. Cadman, George W. Wickersham, and Dr. Gulick are only waiting an opportunity to conduct a campaign like they did for the League of Nations and World Court for debt cancellation. The same appeal will eventually be made for debt cancellation

that was made for the League of Nations and the World Court.

That this has been decided upon is made plain in The Handbook of the Churches, the latest publication of the Federal Council. It appears in the description of the authority and activities of the Commission on International Justice and Good Will, of which George W. Wickersham is chairman. This Commission in the yearbook is described as "the official agency of the churches of the Federal Council for carrying on common activities in the subject of World Justice and Peace." In the concluding paragraph it is stated that the Commission in its literature has "dealt with the subject matter considered at the Washington conference for the limitation of armaments, with the World Court issue, with the relation of America and Mexico, with famine conditions in Russia, Germany, Austria, China, with earthquake sufferers in Japan, with problems of Asiatics in America, with the relations of America and Japan, and with the problem of China and the West, with the general questions of war and peace, and with many similar questions, such as traffic in narcotic drugs, European debts to the United States, immigration legislation, etc."

But that the program is even more far reaching than this is indicated by a statement to the press given out through the publicity director.

It is in the form of a questionnaire that was sent out by the Commission on International Justice and Good Will of the Federal Council of Churches. The most adroit arguments and deceptive propaganda are often made through asking questions. With a

great show of sincerity they are asked so as to cover the most sinister purpose. Those who propose the questions assume the attitude of disinterested seekers of truth. They avoid placing themselves on record for those things which they are really advocating.

Observe with what expertness the author of these questions approaches his objective.

"How would you answer these questions of national and international policy from the Christian point of view?" is asked. It is then explained that these questions are sent to "thousands of congregations for study and individual answer during Armistice week."

In the first five questions there is a great pretense at getting at the fundamental problems of the world. They are:

1. "What constitutes a nation? Define its characteristics.

2. "Does a nation possess absolute, unlimited sovereignty? If not, what limits its sovereignty?

3. "Is a nation, as such, under moral law? If so, list and define its moral duties.

4. "Does a nation possess any inherent and inalienable rights? Name and define them.

5. "Can a nation so ignore its duties or violate its obligations as to forfeit its rights? Illustrate from history."

The sixth question is aimed at the Monroe Doctrine and the immigration question. It is:

6. "Should or should not the United States agree to submit for peaceful settlement every international dispute not capable of solution by diplomacy? If

not, why? How about disputes involving the Monroe Doctrine? Immigration?"

If any one seeking to discuss the Monroe Doctrine or Immigration from a new point of view should send an inquiry to the Federal Council of Churches he will be furnished with plenty of material to support the theory that the Monroe Doctrine should be submitted to the League of Nations or the World Court. Immigration is also an international question according to at least part of the controlling group of the Federal Council of Churches. That is why this question is asked. The internationalists of the Council are constantly seeking an opportunity to give a new interpretation to the Monroe Doctrine.

The seventh and eighth questions are of an abstract character relating to the new definition of "aggressive war" and the right of neutrals to sell munitions and make loans, to belligerents. In the ninth question the right of the United States to control its natural resources is questioned. This question reads:

9. "Has a nation absolute right to the mineral or food resources within its territory? Can it do with them whatever it wishes regardless of the needs of others? Coal? Iron? Oil? Wheat? Rubber?"

The tenth question is a bold attempt to draw the churches into a discussion of the tariff. It is doubtful whether any extreme free trader would have been willing to classify the tariff question as a moral issue. This is done by asking:

10. "Has a nation the right to regulate its tariff regardless of the disasters its rates may inflict on other peoples? Why?"

If the Federal Council of Churches has its way the discussion of the tariff will be taken up in Sunday School. But the greatest effort is made in the questionnaire to drag the discussion of the immigration question into Sunday School. This is really done to revive the discussion of the Japanese and Chinese exclusion act which is regarded in Congress as settled once for all. Any discussion of the question now only raises false hopes in Japan and keeps alive the resentment that was really stirred up by propagandists in this country led by Dr. Gulick of the Federal Council, in an attempt to break down our immigration law which not only excludes orientals but limits immigration from other countries. This is done by six questions approaching the subject from every angle. They are:

11. "Has a nation absolute right to regulate immigration into its territory? Why?

12. "Have suffering and poverty-stricken Europeans the right to come to the United States? In either case, why?

13. "Have Asiatics the same inherent right of immigration that Europeans have? Why?

14. "Is the question of immigration strictly 'domestic'? If not, on what principles are domestic and foreign interests to be reconciled?

15. "Has a country with large areas of unoccupied territory the right to exclude immigrants from over-populated countries? If so, on what principles? If not, why?

16. "Has an over-populated country the right to take territory by force from a nation with sparse population—e.g., European seizure of North and

South America three and four centuries ago? Would Chinese and Japanese have the right to seize the United States if they had the might? In either case, why?"

No doubt these questions and especially the last one have been sent to Dr. Gulick's friends in Japan. They are splendid suggestions for the Jingoist in Japan. It shows a splendid spirit on the part of Dr. Gulick. While he is in this country opposing all forms of preparedness and measures for national defense, he is suggesting that the Chinese and Japanese have the right to seize the United States "if they had the might." But, in explaining the background of the "national study conference of churches" called by the Federal Council, Dr. Gulick strikes at the very heart of the nation. He asks:

"What do the churches of America as a whole think about war and about peace? Are they or are they not essentially 'pacifists'? Were another war to come would they do again what they did in 1917 and 1918?"

Doubtless the Department of Justice would appreciate it if Dr. Gulick would answer this question himself. Upon his answer to this question would depend whether he would be interned "were war to come again." The type that attempted to conceal their disloyalty under the robes of the clergy in the last war will not be dealt with so leniently in the next war. The men who respond to the call of the country can be depended upon to attend to this.

To raise this question Dr. Gulick outrages the great body of loyal and patriotic church people, and reveals the disloyal intent of himself and a number of his associates in the Federal Council.

Chapter X

AN APPEAL FROM LABOR LEADERS

THE most humiliating development in the activities of the Federal Council and its cooperating organizations, to those who have always looked to the churches for the highest standards of citizenship and Americanism, are the protests which come from labor leaders. The Soviet world revolution has passed the preaching stage in labor unions. There is often actual combat between the leaders who are loyal to American institutions and those who have embraced communism or socialism as prescribed by Moscow.

Naturally, labor leaders who are waging war against sovietism in the union view with astonishment the sympathy and support that the subversive movement receives from church leaders. This is the last source from which they expected encouragement to communism which has destroyed all churches in Russia.

As a consequence, from the labor leaders comes an appeal that the communists and Russian soviet sympathizers be driven from the churches as they are endeavoring to drive them out of the labor temples. This movement to combat the subversive movement in labor unions was started by the late

Samuel Gompers, now recognized as one of the most powerful and patriotic leaders in the labor movement. One of his last acts was to sound a warning to the churches in which he pointed out the alarming progress that the subversives were making in religious circles. He insisted that some of the foremost leaders in the subversive movement were occupying pulpits. Among those whom he regarded as most dangerous were Rev. Harry F. Ward of the Methodist Church, and Rabbi Judah L. Magnus. Mr. Gompers in referring to these distinguished divines said:

"Harry F. Ward, titular head of the American Civil Liberties Union and an active participant in various parlor pink organizations over a period of several years; the most ardent pro-Bolshevik cleric in this country. Dr. Ward has been prominent in such pacifist and radical organizations as the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Emergency Peace Conference, People's Council, and the Liberty Defense Union. He is the author of a number of pro-Bolshevik articles.

"Rabbi Magnus, well known as a revolutionary pacifist and equally well known for his opposition to the policies of America during the World War, and at present a directing genius in several propaganda organizations of the pacifist and parlor pink variety; and one of the principal organizers of the People's Council. In addition, Rabbi Magnus was one of the moving spirits in the Emergency Peace Federation, a member of the American Conference of Russian Freedom, and a moving spirit in many other pro-Bolshevik and pacifist activities."

President Green, who succeeded Mr. Gompers as the head of the American Federation of Labor, and

Vice President Woll took up the fight where he left it against communism in labor organization and like Mr. Gompers are making an appeal to the church leaders for support. In a recent speech before the New York Chamber of Commerce against the recognition of the Russian Soviet Government Mr. Woll described the conflict in the labor union and directed the attention again to evidences of the efforts that are being made to swing the churches to communism.

"The battle with the Communists in the labor movement," said Mr. Woll, "can be fought out only within the unions themselves. I am proud to tell you that it is being waged with vigor and with success.

"During the last ten days you have doubtless noticed the press accounts of the war declared upon the needle trade unions in New York by the Communist wing of those organizations. It has called a mass meeting to be held on January 2 by the Left Wing members of the trade union organizations in this city, to plan an attack upon all bona fide unions. On the other hand, the anti-Communist wing of thirty-five craft organizations in New York, representing an overwhelming majority of the members, has called a meeting for the latter part of this month to combat Communism and Communists wherever found in the trade union movement. This situation is well described in the following extract from a declaration issued by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

" 'Taking advantage of industrial depression, the Communists were successful in gaining control in some organizations. Two organizations in particular

that they have taken over are the furriers and cloakmakers of New York City. They immediately threw them into long and bloody strikes, starving the workers of these industries, ruining the industries, and finally making settlement that completely betrayed the membership of those unions. By the use of their press, they glorified their failures. By the use of terrorist methods, they are attempting to stifle the opposition of the enraged members. Workers everywhere have now had ample opportunity to study their methods and ability. The time has come when the preservation of the trade unions demands the expulsion of these elements from offices and control.'

"Let me quote also the following from an address entitled, 'The Communist Plague in Our Unions,' by Mr. Morrow Sigman, President of that organization:

" 'According to the financial report of the Workers' Party, this party had, in 1924, 15,233 members. The organizational expenses of this party alone amounted in 1923, according to the financial report of its secretary, to $140,000, of which sum only about $40,000 was covered by membership dues. The report does not mention where the remaining $100,000 came from.

" 'This, however, is not all. The Communist Party of America publishes fourteen daily papers, eight weeklies and several monthly magazines. Not one of these publications pays for itself, and, with the exception of one or two, these Communistic periodicals have neither readers nor advertisers. The Italian Federation of the Workers' Party, which has 319 members, issues its own daily paper. The Hun-

garian Federation numbers 359 members and publishes a daily paper. The Polish Federation has 245 members and also publishes a daily newspaper. The English central organ of the Communists, which carries no advertisements whatever and has only an insignificant number of readers, comes out daily in six pages and issues a special supplement on Sunday. Notwithstanding the fact that most Communist papers have no income whatever, they are coming out regularly, and some of them have even purchased buildings and are equipped with linotype and printing plants.' "

Continuing, Mr. Woll said, "The Communist forces waging this war are financed and directed from Moscow. Think of it! Moscow fighting its battle on the sidewalks of New York."

Mr. Woll went on to describe how the Communists were attempting to capture or destroy the United Mine Workers' organization by preventing the reelection of John L. Lewis as President.

"This is the fight in which Albert Coyle, editor of the official organ of the International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers," said Mr. Woll, "has played such a sinister part. At the recent convention of the A. F. of L. in Detroit, he was exposed as having plotted to start a rival paper to support the Communist forces in the Union whose candidate against Lewis was one Brophy. Coyle had written a letter to Powers Hapgood, a nephew of Norman Hapgood, giving definite instructions for launching and conducting such a paper and stating that he would get from his rich friends the $30,000 necessary to put over the venture."

Mr. Woll, after declaring that this contest was taking place not only in all the large unions, then said that the Communists were reaching out after unorganized labor. In pointing out how insidious the subversive movement is being conducted in the churches, Mr. Woll said:

"At its 1924 national convention, attended by more than 800 delegates, one of the largest church denominations in point of membership adopted unanimously the following Karl Marxian declaration on private property which was incorporated into the fundamental law of that church:

" 'Wealth accruing to the holders through monopoly values or special privileges, or through large opportunities for costless saving, is not earned, and wealth created by society should be devoted to the development of all the people in ways to be determined by the people themselves.'

"These high-sounding phrases, if they mean anything at all, imply affirmation of a doctrine which, if it is to obtain in the United States, will wipe out not only the billions invested by the life insurance companies, but the billions owned by all the other people of the country. If that doctrine obtains, gone are all the great endowments for the benefit of humanity! Gone are all our legacies to our children and our children's children! Gone is the whole institution of private property, individual initiative and spirit of personal adventure! If we are to wipe out all capitalism with its wage system, rents, interest and profits, what is to become of the investments of all the colleges, churches, missions, private hospitals, libraries and great foundations? What of the mil-

lions of savings bank depositors whose earnings likewise go to corporation securities, to say nothing of the hundreds of millions of dollars invested by the wage earners of the country in shares of industrial corporations, or of the millions making up the great body called the public, whose investments enter the billion-dollar field?

"It is also pertinent to observe that, when these 'unearned' billions are to be 'devoted to the development of all the people in ways to be determined by the people themselves,' it means that Congress, the only body that can represent 'all the people themselves,' is to spend this money. What a 'pork barrel' orgy there will be!"

Of course, not over eight out of the eight hundred delegates at the convention realized what was being imposed upon this great church. It only demonstrates how dangerous it is for a body of clergymen to deal with economic questions which, according to old-fashioned religion and the spirit of our institutions, is outside of the jurisdiction of any church. The resolutions adopted by too many general conferences and general organizations of ecclesiastical bodies in recent years bear a strong resemblance to the platforms of political parties. It is time that the laymen take an interest in these affairs and make their views known to their pastors if economic questions are to be dwelt with by ecclesiastical organizations.

Continuing his discussion of the subversive movement in the churches, Mr. Woll said:

"While giving such emphasis to one particular Church, it is not to be assumed that it is the only

offender. Unfortunately, the social and industrial departments of nearly all other churches are open to much criticism though perhaps not to such a large degree. Nearly all tend toward the 'Left Wing.'

"It is not on social and industrial problems alone that they follow extreme lines. They are likewise inclined toward the 'Left' on the question of peace and war. Either as individual churches or through the Federal Council of Churches, nearly all have gone on record as being opposed to 'all wars, defensive as well as offensive.' Of course, we are all against war with its frightful horrors but the line should clearly be drawn between offensive and defensive wars. Favorite declarations of Church and peace movements are that 'All wars are futile' and 'All wars are suicidal,' as if either term could be applied to our Revolutionary War or the War of the Rebellion or the war to free Cuba, which, by the way, was an offensive war demanded by the people. To declare that the World War was 'futile' or 'suicidal' is to assume an air of mental and moral superiority which existing facts neither warrant nor justify. Suppose we had not entered the war and England and France had been defeated! Our refusal to enter would have been indeed a folly and an act of national suicide.

"In this connection, let me bring to your attention a book, 'The Abolition of War,' written by Messrs. Sherwood Eddy and Kirby Page, two of the leaders of the recent so-called impartial commission to Russia discussed in my letter to President Coolidge.

"The following paragraph in that book is of special interest:

" 'In the last war a few score of genuine conscientious objectors went to prison for their faith. It is only fair to tell the government frankly in advance that in the next war, not a few score, but many thousands will gladly go to prison or to death rather than take any destructive part in what they believe with the Federal Council of Churches "is the world's chief collective sin." '

"A fitting companion-piece to that volume is another by Mr. Kirby Page entitled 'War—Its Causes, Consequences and Cure,' copies of which were sent to 115,000 clergymen of the country and in which we find the following pledge:

"'Let the Churches of America say to their own government and to the peoples of the earth: "We feel so certain that war is now un-Christian, futile and suicidal that we renounce completely the whole war system. We will never again sanction or participate in any war. We will not allow our pulpits and classrooms to be used as recruiting stations. We will not again give our financial or moral support to any war. We will seek security and justice in other ways." '"

Mr. Woll continues by placing the question up to the members of the Protestant Churches who are supporting the Federal Council, by saying:

"May I ask if it is not time for all loyal citizens within the churches to assert themselves more fully to the end that the promotion of religious ideals shall not be carried on to the loss and detriment of loyalty and patriotism to our democratic institutions? Of course, the Communists encourage and welcome disintegration of the morals of so-called 'capitalist'

nations and, therefore, they welcome to their fold the 'Left' leaders in the churches."

Mr. Woll drives the point home to every Protestant, or as far as that is concerned, every church-member, when he says:

"Suppose labor leaders had so far forgotten their duties and responsibilities as to give expression to the utterances herein quoted! Are we not justified in believing that the whole American public would have risen in righteous wrath?"

What these labor leaders are saying deserves the prayerful consideration of at least a part of the 20,000,000 church members which the Federal Council claims to represent. How long will the great body of loyal and patriotic laymen permit this active and radical minority to preach against our institutions? Is it going on to a point where the loyalty of the Protestant church is to be questioned?

Chapter XI

THREATENS THE CHRISTIAN FAITH

THE Imperial German Army was taken as a threat against the sovereignty of the nations of Europe. By some it was regarded as a threat against all liberal or republican forms of government, including that of the United States. Taking the extreme pre-war view it did not mean more than the return to those forms of government in which the divine right of kings was recognized. There were no direct declarations from the officials of the German Empire upon which these statements can be based, but it was the general attitude of the Kaiser which created world-wide suspicion among the more liberal governments.

Soviet militarism (and it is that if one existed in Germany before the war), is a threat against the Christian faith, all churches and all religion. Even the German Empire before the war, at home or abroad, never attempted to interfere with a man's religious belief. In Germany the church was a sacred institution. While at war, as the report of the Federal Council of Churches quoted in a previous chapter showed, the Kaiser gave protection to the churches by permitting the conference called by the Federal Council at Constance to meet while the country was

under martial law. This conference of the representatives of the Protestant churches would not be tolerated today in Russia in time of peace.

The Soviet dictatorship is a Godless government. The Communist party which is the Russian Government, or Soviet, will eventually banish all churches from Russia. As far as it has been able to obtain control of the Southern Government at Canton the Communist party has driven the missionaries and churches out of that country. If it is successful in its world revolution the churches will be driven out of every country in the world. The destruction of all churches is one of the chief objectives of communism. Religion cannot exist in a communistic country.

These statements are not based on inferences, as were the charges against Imperial Germany, but are on the direct and unequivocal statements of the disciples of communism.

Karl Marx, the great apostle of communism, declared that "religion is the opium of the people." His followers who established the Russian Soviet dictatorship hold to the same opinion. In an official publication "The A. B. C. of Communism," by N. Bucharin and E. Z. Preobraschensky, the relations between communism and religion are clearly stated. In the course of a chapter on the subject the following is quoted: "Religion and communism are incompatible. A communist who rejects the commandments of religion and acts in accordance with the decisions of the party ceases to be one of the faithful."

It will be observed that these authorities recognize the principle set forth in the Bible that a man cannot

serve two masters. He cannot serve both God and communism.

But to quote further from this definition of communism: "On the other hand one who, while calling himself a communist, continues to cling to a religious faith, one who in the name of religious commandment, infringes on the prescription of the party, ceases thereby to be a communist."

And these principles are being put into effect, as will be testified to by Sherwood Eddy, who, after returning from a trip to Russia at the head of a self-appointed commission, writes the following for the Zion Herald:

"The communist party is frankly materialistic, atheistic and anti-religious in its policies."

Again this advocate of the recognition of the Soviet dictatorship says:

"The philosophy of the communist party is based upon force, and their avowed policy is world revolution. This party has a membership in fifty-two countries and its plan of revolution is a frank challenge to our whole social order."

Now what stands back of these declarations? Are they mere statements of an abstract theory or is there a real force which at the proper time will attempt to extend communism into every country and destroy Christianity?

They are supported by the Red Army of Russia, according to frequent declarations of communist propaganda. The military authorities of not only the United States but of all European governments rate the strength of the Red Army higher than that of the Imperial German Army before the war. No

country even approaches Russia in the strength of its land forces.

Not desiring to be open to the charge of conducting a propaganda for the War Department or the national defense societies, we quote William Z. Foster of the American Civil Liberties Union, of which Harry Ward, the author of the social creed of the Federal Council of Churches, is the chairman. Comrade Foster has recently returned to the United States after an extended trip as a guest of the Soviet Government, and has written a very informative pamphlet entitled "The Russian Revolution." His first declaration is "The Russian Revolution is one of the very greatest events in all human history," and in Chapter III he declares:

"One of the great achievements of the Russian Revolution was the creation of the Red Army. This famous organization is the protector of the revolution, which it has successfully shielded from an armed and hostile capitalistic world. When at its maximum during the most critical period of the civil wars, the Red Army numbered 5,300,000 members, and was the strongest military organization in the world."

In another chapter attention was called to how, under the direction of Mr. Foster's organization, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Federal Council of Churches conducted a campaign against military training in this country. He is one of the trustees of the Garland Free-Love Socialistic fund which financed the Lane pamphlet and the campaign of publicity against military training. In this campaign there was perfect cooperation on the part

of Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, President of the Federal Council of Churches. Dr. Cadman and the other leaders of the Federal Council of Churches drew a horrifying picture of the effects of a short period of military training in the schools and colleges on the peace of the world.

As this campaign is still in progress let Mr. Foster, one of the leaders of the movement to abolish all military training in the United States, give you a picture of real compulsory military service, as it exists in Russia:

"Another problem related to the question of compulsory military service," writes Mr. Foster, "is that because of their bitter experiences under Czarism, the Russian people, especially the revolutionary element, had gained a deep hatred of conscription, hence, when they founded the old Red Guard, they based it upon the system of voluntary enlistment. But this did not work out well. The mass of the people were war-weary and the burden of the struggle fell upon the best and most militant elements of the city workers. Russia was slaughtering her most precious mechanics (a loss which her industries are still suffering severely), while the slacker elements either stayed aloof from the Army altogether; or, having joined it, would soon desert, with good clothes on their backs and rifles in their hands.

"Under such conditions the building of a real fighting force was out of the question. The Russian leaders did not hesitate before the obvious remedy; they established universal compulsory military service. For this they were criticized by the Utopian theorists who see revolution through the rosy spec-

tacles of a celestial idealism. But the shallowness of such criticism is evident to everyone who has had actual contact with the masses in action and knows their limitations. Even in the trade union movement, the principle of compulsion must be applied in many ways. What, for instance, would become of that movement if it depended upon a volunteer system of dues? It would degenerate into chaos in a hurry. Labor unions the world over have found it necessary to adopt strongest regulations, the practical effect of which is to virtually compel the ignorant and indifferent workers to fight intelligently and vigorously in their own behalf. And *so* it *was* in *Russia;* the *leaders had to introduce the discipline of compulsory military service* in order to make the backward masses defend the conquest of the revolution. They are not at all sentimental about the thing; they know very well that there is a world of difference between conscription to protect your master's interest and conscription to protect your own. They have no apologies to offer."

In an effort to create the impression that the Red Army is different from any other military force, Mr. Foster says:

"The Red Army is just as different from other armies as the Soviet Government is different from capitalistic government. It is pervaded throughout with a democratic spirit totally unknown to other military organizations. Between the officers and the soldiers a feeling of brotherhood prevails; they dress just alike and call each other 'comrade.' The Red Army is a people's army in the true sense of the word."

But turning over about five pages in his pamphlet, the following remarkable declaration which is more imperialistic and boastful than any that ever came from the Kaiser, is found:

"In the Red Army communist sentiment is strong, well placed and highly organized. All the officers are either outspoken communists or, where they are non-party men, they have given ample evidence of their unwavering loyalty to the revolution. All of the new officers, graduates from the Soviet military school, are party members—no other may take the course of instruction. Likewise, all of the commissars (inspectors general) are devoted communists. It is the important function of these officials, one of whom is attached to every military subdivision, to look after the political education of the soldiers; they check up upon the commanding officers and see to it that the Red Army is kept faithful to the revolution. And so far they have accomplished their task wonderfully well. Every military unit has its yatchayka, composed of officers and men, all on an equal footing. At its maximum strength the Red Army numbered 5,300,000 men, five-sixths of them peasants, yet this mass *was like so much putty* in the hands of the thin sprinkling of planful, determined and thoroughly organized communists. They had no trouble at all in welding it as a powerful defensive weapon for the revolution."

This is a splendid description of a military caste based on communism. What a sensation would be created in capitalistic United States if some member of Congress would even introduce a bill providing that young men of only one political faith or religion

could be admitted to West Point, or commissioned in the Army or Navy. In the United States, officers of the Army come from every political party, every church, and every walk of life. In Russia they come from only the party in power. Any party who would attempt to dictate the political sentiments of the Army could not carry a precinct in a presidential election in capitalistic United States.

Compulsory service is not confined to the Red Army. It permeates the communistic industrial system of Russia, according to Mr. Foster, of the American Civil Liberties Union. In course of a description of the system, he says:

"One of the greatest forces giving life and power to the communistic party's elaborate organization is the marvelous discipline of the membership. This is of a strictness absolutely unknown among other classes of revolutionists. 'Party Discipline' is a term to conjure with in Russia. When the party is considering a measure of importance the members discuss it pro and con with the utmost freedom. But once a decision is arrived at all discussion ceases immediately, the opposition subsides, differences of opinion are forgotten or laid aside and concentrated action is the order of the day.

"An important phase of this discipline is the draft, or 'mobilization' as it is called, to which members are subject. Not even the highest officials are exempt. Constantly the paper contains long lists of the names of members sent to all parts of the country to perform every sort of task. Only recently the Petrograd Communist party mobilized 300 of its members, serving in high government offices, and sent them

into the factories for three months, so that they could refresh their proletarian spirit. Indeed, in many other respects besides its draft, the Russian Communist party has the characteristics of a military organization. Its members have the right to bear arms and most of them do. They drill regularly once or twice a week in their yatchaykas. During the critical periods of the civil wars the entire party is under arms."

If it did not appear under his name the following would be taken as an utterance of a Hohenzollern in describing the imperial army of Germany before the World War:

"The Red Army," Mr. Foster goes on to say, "is an organized crusade for the revolution. It defeats its foes not only by force but also by education. So militant and contagious is its proletarian spirit that its leaders can peacefully boast that European troops cannot be used successfully against it. Once it gets its propaganda machine in operation, the morale of the opposing army begins to fall. The working class prisoners that are captured are fed, entertained and taken about the country to see the proletarian institution of the new social order. Then they are returned to their own lines to spread the good news. Great quantities of literature are published and distributed to the enemy troops, pointing out how they are dupes of capitalism and why they have no interest in carrying on the war. Soon the effect is produced; the worker-soldiers lose all taste for the war and either the army begins to disintegrate or its leaders negotiate peace. Even American soldiers were not

immune to Red Army propaganda, as their revolt proved.

"All told, the Red Army is a remarkable institution. It is the strong right arm of the Russian revolution."

That this Red Army system was being extended into China became evident with the success of the Cantonese Army in its initial victorious sweep to the north. While the great powers were negotiating with the different governments of China with regard to the foreign concession the Russian Communist party was pouring propaganda into the warring areas. A strong Chinese Communist party was organized quietly throughout China and it appeared to be on the eve of controlling the southern government. A special Chinese number of the official organ of the executive committee of the Communist Internationale of December, 1926, in its leading editorial shows the close relations between the Chinese Communist party and the parent organization in Russia. It goes on to state:

"The victory of the Canton Army, its advance to the north up to the Yangtze River, its occupation of the central industrial districts of China, the attraction of the peasants into the revolutionary movement, the growing acuteness of the class struggles in the rural districts in China, the approaching conflict between the Canton Army and the principal forces of the internal and imperialistic counter-revolution in China, i.e., with the Mukden militarist group, all indicate that the revolution in China has entered a new phase in which the struggle for hegemony between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will determine the further direction of the

revolution. The outcome of this struggle will determine whether China develops along non-capitalist lines, along lines of conflict with world imperialism in alliance with the Soviet Republic, and the world proletariat toward the ultimate aims of socialism, or whether a semi-emancipated China, concluding a compromise with the imperialist powers, will proceed along the lines of capitalist development."

When this was written Michael Borodin—communist, bolshevist, atheist, apostle of the Soviet philosophy and Soviet methods, was the chief adviser of the Canton Government. He had really succeeded to the leadership of Doctor Sun Yat Sen, and was the dictator of the southern government. He went to China originally as an envoy of the Russian Soviet Government, having been called away from his school teaching in Hull House, Chicago, by Lenin, to come to Moscow for instructions in his new commission as agitator extraordinary in China. Hull House, it will be recalled, is the great Chicago educational and socialist center, founded and conducted by Jane Addams, who is so staunchly defended by the Federal Council. At this writing there are indications that the conservative leaders of the southern government are attempting to throw off the domination of the Russian Communist party.

This, however, does not obscure the fact that the Communist party of Russia is attempting to take advantage of the disturbed condition of China to fasten a Soviet dictatorship upon China. This is indicated by the sudden enmity toward Christian missionaries which developed during the advance of the Cantonese Army to the north.

This special Chinese number of the Communist Internationale is devoted largely to instructions issued to the Russian Soviet envoys in China. Great emphasis is placed upon the importance of developing another Red Army in China by Comrade Stalin in his speech to the Chinese Commission of the executive committee of the Communist Internationale. In course of his remarks on this subject, he says:

"First of all, the Communists of China must intensify their political work in the army to the utmost and try to convert the army into a real and exemplary bearer of the ideas of the Chinese revolution. This is specially necessary for the reason that all kinds of generals, having nothing in common with the Kuomintang (the Nationalist Party in China), are joining the Canton troops. These generals joined the Canton troops as the force which is crushing the enemies of the people, but in doing so they introduce elements of disintegration into the army.

"Chinese revolutionists, including the Chinese communists, must seriously take up and study military affairs. They must not regard military affairs as of second-rate importance, because in China this is one of the most important factors of the revolution."

In considering creation of this great military force it should be borne in mind that it is directed against all religion. It is a war upon the Christian faith and it will be conducted by an army which according to Mr. Foster, is the strongest in the world. As a matter of self-defense if the Federal Council of Churches represents twenty million (20,000,000) Protestants it could be justified in assuming the

leadership in combating the red menace of the Christian faith and organized religion. It would appear that the Council should give support to adequate defense for this nation which is sheltering Christianity.

This issue comes to the Federal Council on the question as to whether Godless Soviet Russia should be recognized by the United States. The Russian Soviet Government has been refused recognition by the State Department under three administrations. Great pressure has been brought to bear by certain financial interests and radical groups to force the State Department to admit the Godless Soviet dictatorship into the family of nations. When asked as to the attitude of the Federal Council on this question Reverend James Myers, industrial and field secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, said:

"The Federal Council has never taken up the question, and so it is not of record. Personally I am in favor of the recognition of Soviet Russia. Christians must recognize that internationalism is above nationalism; the brotherhood of man must be recognized if a man is a Christian."

Compare this with utterances that have come from official Soviet Russia. Lunatcharsky, Commissar of Public Instruction under the Soviet Government, speaking at Moscow, said:

"Why ought we believe in God? We hate Christianity and Christians; even the best of them must be regarded as our enemies. They preach love of one's neighbor and pity, which is contrary to our principles. Christian love is a hindrance to the develop-

was instructed to devise a bill which would place in the hands of the President immediately upon the declaration of war the authority that it was found necessary to confer upon him towards the close of the World War.

Colonel John Thomas Taylor, Vice-Chairman of the National Legislative Committee of the American Legion at the opening of a hearing before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, in stating the purpose of the American Legion's bill, which is known as the Capper-Johnson Bill, said:

"The object of the legislation is two-fold: first, to promote peace; that is the primary object; and next, to see that there shall be, in the event of another emergency, no slackers and no profiteers—that every man and woman in the country shall do their share either in the actual military forces or in the industrial forces, to see to it that this nation of ours is a united nation in the event of another military necessity."

The Capper-Johnson Bill was made the subject of an extended study at the War College through a term of four years. Major General Hanson E. Ely, who was then Commandant of the War College, was a member of the American Legion special committee and through him the representatives of the veterans had access to all of the War College records and went into the subject with great care. At the hearing before the Senate Committee Secretary of War Davis, Assistant Secretary of War MacNider, Senator Arthur Capper of Kansas, Major General Hanson Ely, Major General John H. Lejeune, Commandant of the Marine Corps, Robert S. Brookings of St. Louis, Chairman of the Price Fixing Committee

during the war, Bernard M. Baruch, Mrs. Lucy Fenn, Daughters of the American Revolution, and Mrs. H. B. Wurdeman, appeared among other witnesses in the support of legislation of this character. All agreed that something like the Capper-Johnson Bill should be passed although amendments were suggested, not only by the witnesses but by some of the members of the Committee. A representative of the American Federation of Labor was not fully committed to the bill and submitted a letter from President Green of the organization suggesting that a conference between the representative of the Federation and the American Legion be held to work out an agreement on the provisions of the bill.

In opposition to the bill there appeared representatives of the American Civil Liberties Union, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the National Council for the Prevention of War. All of these organizations are in control of radical-pacifists, and again the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America was a cooperating body.

"Miss" Isabelle Kendig, representing the American Civil Liberties Union, appears to have mobilized the opposition to the bill. This is not the lady's legal name, as stated in another chapter, for she is married according to her admission before the House Committee on Immigration. She belongs to one of the schools of socialism under which women do not change their names when they are united in marriage. Dr. John A. Ryan was one of the chief witnesses appearing as a member of the Executive Board of the National Council for the Prevention of War. Assuming that Dr. Ryan who is a professor at

Georgetown University, helps shape the policy of the National Council for the Prevention of War, and thus was a spokesman for that organization, it may be well to look into the character of this organization.

The Washington Post of January 23, 1925, states:

"Frederick J. Libby, super-pacifist, executive secretary of the National Council for the Prevention of War, yesterday was denied the right to speak in the public schools of the District of Columbia. This was done by the action of the Board of Education in adopting a report presented at yesterday's meeting of the special committee to investigate Libby."

The report said in part, as follows:

"With the desire to be correct in our conclusions we have sought and have carefully studied and considered the masses of records submitted to us, bearing upon the activities of said Libby; and have been controlled by the broad scope and purposes underlying the patriotic organization of which we are members.

"The perusal of the documentary evidence we have had in hand gives an astounding revelation of the extent and character of the propaganda work throughout the country, originating with the class of revolutionary organizations now operating in this country, whose object and purpose is to undermine and, if possible, to destroy the prosperity now enjoyed by all who live within our borders and who respect our Constitution and laws.

"Through their secret agents and representatives, acting under their orders and instructions, they have become active in their pernicious work; and through

organizations pretending to aid the masses, they seek to create discontent, to arouse ill feeling by misrepresenting facts, and so to mislead the misinformed and ignorant classes among our fellow citizens.

"From the evidence submitted to us we have become convinced that Frederick J. Libby is one of the recognized leaders in the movement originated with the avowed enemies of this country."

Another active member of the National Council for the Prevention of War is Sara Bard Field of California. In February, 1922, according to the Lusk Report, she made a declaration of her principles in a letter in which she stated:

"I am a radical. I believe war rests upon our present economic falsity. I believe that the competitive system means commercial and industrial war, inevitably leading to bloody war. Until we have established cooperation in making and in distributing the world's production, which includes most of the necessities and luxuries used by man, we shall have intensive activities on the part of nation against nation to gain trade centers and spheres of influence, until finally the activity is carried to the military struggle. I have no confidence in anything short of revolution, peaceful by all means if possible, bloody if necessary, in every land resulting in the establishment of the communistic idea in some form to do away with war.

"Women should stop at nothing but the full abolishment of war. They give life at the greatest cost. And this life can only be preserved by the greatest wisdom, which is to see on what foundation war rests; pull the support from under it and go

about the building of the new world as Russia is painfully trying to do."

It was not so much what Samuel M. Cavert, General Secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, said at the hearings as the fact that his appearance with the radicals and pacifists created the impression that the churches of the country are opposed to the Capper-Johnson Bill or any legislation of this character. In the press notice handed out to the correspondents prominence was given to the fact that Mr. Cavert appeared. The impression was conveyed that the churches are supporting the position taken by the radical and the pacifist organizations. Neither Mr. Cavert nor any of the witnesses of the American Civil Liberties group discussed the pending bill intelligently or made any constructive suggestions as to how it could be amended to meet the situation that develops at the opening of war. Continually the members of the committee were compelled to inform the opposition witnesses as to the provisions of the bill and ask them to discuss them instead of a fancied or assumed measure.

Mr. Cavert opened his testimony by stating:

"I am one of the general secretaries of the Federal Council of Churches, which as I have no doubt you know, is a federation of twenty-eight Protestant churches, and I am particularly happy to follow our good friend, Father Ryan, and perhaps reinforce at least one or two points which he has suggested."

Father Ryan, as has been stated, was a member of the Executive Board of the National Council for the Prevention of War. Mr. Cavert evidently wanted to create the impression that the Protestant churches

were united in the support of this radical organization's opposition of the bill.

Mr. Cavert stated that the attitude of the Federal Council of Churches on the pending legislation was expressed in two sentences from a resolution adopted by its Administrative Committee. These sentences read as follows:

"We believe that any program of war-time conscription should be put into force only by act of Congress with reference to a specific emergency.

"We record strong convictions that whenever human life is subject to conscription, material resources should be conscripted with equal clearness and vigor."

Although from the press notices it would be inferred that the Federal Council of Churches was opposed to the Capper-Johnson Bill, Mr. Cavert proceeded to confuse the minds of the members of the committee by stating:

"You will note, Mr. Chairman, that these resolutions make no mention of the Capper-Johnson Bill. They are not directed at this or any other measure now before Congress.

"It is not the ordinary practice of the Federal Council of Churches to indorse or oppose specific measures as such. These resolutions, however, lay down certain principles in the light of which it has seemed to the administrative committee of the Federal Council of Churches that to oppose a measure, which proposes as this measure does, to put into effect a far-reaching program of conscription, is necessary.

"I am not here this afternoon to argue against conscription as such—not at all. The resolution—let me read it again.

"We believe that any program of war time conscription should be put into force only by act of Congress with reference to a specific emergency."

Chairman Wadsworth interrupted Mr. Cavert's recital of the facts that Abraham Lincoln was opposed to the Mexican War, by asking him if he was at the hearing on the previous day when the bill was read so that he might be advised as to the character of the bill. Mr. Cavert expressed regrets that he was not. For his information Chairman Wadsworth said:

"I took occasion during the hearings to read into the records the language of the bill which passed the Senate in 1920, amending the National Defense Act, which introduced the subject of organizing selective draft in the event of another war. The amendment read about like this: 'When Congress shall declare and the President shall proclaim a major national emergency, then'—and following that the automatic taking effect of the selective draft act."

This explanation ought to have satisfied Mr. Cavert that the legislation pending was in accordance with the resolution passed by the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council of Churches provided that the war time conscription should be put in force by an act of Congress, but it did not. This representative of twenty-eight Protestant churches continued to ramble along aimlessly protesting against the bill in an indefinite way. He could not keep off the Mexican War.

"May I illustrate my point," continued Mr. Cavert. "Let us suppose, which is undoubtedly in the realm of the highly hypothetical, that as the result of some of the present ill feeling with Mexico, either over economic conditions or alleged religious persecutions, that war should be declared, it would be entirely in the competence of one man to say that all of our manhood should be conscripted for that war, a war which in your judgment, I am sure, as well as in mine, would be highly wrong and more or less unjustified. A matter that affects so directly the moral conviction and consciences of men as conscription in time of war ought not to be put into effect automatically or semi-automatically, but really ought to have brought to bear upon it enlightened public discretion."

"If we waited for general public discretion under circumstances which you mentioned," interjected Senator Reed, "the Mexicans would already be occupying a good many cities in Texas, might they not?"

"Why, it is theoretically possible," admitted Mr. Cavert and turned his attention to the other sentences of the Federal Council of Churches resolutions. He insisted that the Capper-Johnson Bill would not conscript wealth as provided in the Council's resolutions. In the course of his testimony on this point, Mr. Cavert said: "My objection to the bill, Mr. Chairman, is that it does not use equally precise language with regard to capital that it uses in regard to human life. It says draft with regard to human life. Everybody knows what that means. The President has no option there. Draft means a definite thing, but control means that he

may get $5.00 or it may mean that he will get $95.00."

"Let me make an observation," said Chairman Wadsworth. "Perhaps you can enlighten me. Thus far in your illustration you have taken merely a corporation. Would you carry out your illustration logically and apply it, we will say to the farmer who owns land, who gets his living from it, and he is the only person who does—he and his family."

Mr. Cavert said: "I do not know whether I can carry that out or not."

"My curiosity was aroused," insisted Chairman Wadsworth, "by your use of the phrase 'conscription of wealth,' and I wondered with what kind of wealth you were going to be satisfied."

Mr. Cavert: "There is just one thing which would satisfy me, and that is the thing that is in the resolution—how you may work it out in detail I do not know—to deal with the material resources with just as much fairness and just as much regard as you deal with human life."

Chairman Wadsworth: "That is an eloquent resolution, I admit, but we are trying to anticipate just how that can be done with respect to all kinds of wealth, and you had rather impressive views about it and I did not know but what you had worked that out."

Mr. Cavert: "Yes, my views are quite emphatic. I know it means something very drastic. You take John Smith, the foreman of the Bethlehem Company, and you require him to lay down everything he has and everything he is if necessary for the sake of winning the war for the country. Now I say let us

take Mr. Charles M. Schwab and require him to lay down everything he has got for the sake of winning the war for the same country. I do not say that that is a practical thing, but I say that morally one thing stands on an equal footing with the other."

Senator Fletcher: "Are you satisfied to use the word draft in place of control with reference to industry?"

Mr. Cavert: "I would except for the fact that as the Chairman has pointed out we do not know what draft means when you apply it to wealth."

Senator Reed: "Perhaps it is only fair to suggest that Mr. Schwab did incur great personal danger in the course of the World War. He came pretty near to being drowned by a German submarine so it is hardly fair to pick him out as an illustration of a profiteer who took no risk."

Senator McMaster: "Mr. Chairman, did he suggest the language that he would put in this bill?"

Chairman Wadsworth: "Not yet."

Senator McMaster: "I would like to get a clear idea of this. For instance, in conscripting wealth you would go, for one thing, through the community and get hold of all the savings certificates and all of that kind of thing; how far would you go in conscripting wealth if you put it in the bill?"

Mr. Cavert: "I would not put it in a bill. I would not adopt a bill at all."

Senator McMaster: "Just a moment ago you stated that if the conscription of wealth was in the bill you would be advocating it."

Mr. Cavert: "I said I might be advocating it. I only say that because some of my friends in the

American Legion have termed this a peace-time measure. I do not think it is ever possible to put wealth on quite the same basis as human life, but I think if you are going to have a bill of this sort then you ought to make every possible effort to see that capital is treated in the same regard as you treat a man."

Senator Reed: "When you draft a man you take his person for the service of the government. You cannot do that with capital."

Mr. Cavert: "I am afraid you are right."

Senator Reed: "When you tax capital, you take part or all of it for the use of the government. Aren't you just quibbling with words?"

Mr. Cavert's testimony throughout showed clearly that either he was quibbling or had no knowledge of the bill pending before the Committee. At the same time there was a purpose not only in his appearance but his testimony. It was to defeat this bill, as it had the appearance of a preparedness measure. While pleading that his heart was going out after the men who would be called for service in the event of war, he did not make any proposal by which capital could be placed upon the same basis or war profiteering could be prohibited. Pacifists of his type frequently insist that it is the moneyed interests which promote war, but at the same time they refuse to cooperate with those who won the World War in attempting to take the profit out of war.

This is the only conclusion that can be reached in reading Dr. Cavert's testimony when he was assuming to speak for 20,000,000 Protestant church men and women. This also applies to the Adminis-

trative Committee of the Federal Council of Churches which passed a resolution giving Mr. Cavert authority and instructions to appear before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs in opposition to a bill which was prepared by the American Legion after years of study of the economic problems of war.

Chapter XIII

THE FEDERAL COUNCIL'S DEPARTMENT OF STATE

THE Federal Council's intent to rule the Nation's foreign affairs is no less firm and no less frankly admitted than is its purpose to dominate the home government.

In the 1927 "Handbook of the Churches," the official publication of the Federal Council, Dr. Cadman, the Federal Council's President, in his foreword on page 7, says: "The American Churches are going to grapple courageously with great social and *International* questions." "The day is past when any realm of our economic, industrial, social, political or *International* life will be regarded as outside the sphere of responsibility of the churches.

"There is a new consciousness abroad that Protestantism has *too easily surrendered to the State.*"

In these quoted words of the President of the Federal Council, which are his most recent utterances on the subject, we find the bald truth of the charges we are making against this ecclesiastical hierarchy.

Until within recent years, the church leaders in America endeavored, as did the Master, to make the world righteous by instilling righteousness into the

hearts of the individual citizens of the world. But, the Federal Council's impatience, coupled with the latter-day acquisition of political power, by this hierarchy, has led it to discard the Nazarene's plan of individual salvation, and to substitute mass political influence.

The tools they once accused the Catholic Church of trying to employ, the Protestant hierarchy is now utilizing with a consummate skill, which suggests a long and careful study of the art they once condemned.

In the Federal Council's action in its attempt to control the United States Government in its relations to Nicaragua and other Central American States, it is operating true to form. Also, it is operating in concert with the same radical elements which have long since learned to rely comfortably upon the Federal Council's hearty support.

The "center" organization at present engaged in propaganda against the United States and in favor of the Socialist-Communist scheme to sovietize Mexico and all Central American States, is a newly spawned organization known as the "Non-Intervention Citizens Committee."

Through the members of this Committee the work is carried out to more than one hundred organizations, some of them openly Socialistic and Communistic, while others (following the usual strategy) are legitimate enough, but appear to be in the hands of clever adepts. This Citizens' Committee is interesting to look at. Let us look at it.

In the list comprising the "center" 13 *are foreign born*. Of these, 8 were born in Russia. They are

Schlossberg, Hillquit, Danish, Vladeck, Zuckerman, Schneiderman, Budish and Cohn. Muste was born in the Netherlands; Claessens, in Switzerland; Lieberman in Lithuania; Wise in Hungary and Beckerman in England.

Nineteen are openly affiliated with the Socialist party, and practically all of the others have been engaged in some form of activity to advance the Socialist scheme. The 19 are: Schlossberg, Hillquit, Vladeck, Beckerman, Cohn, Muste, Budish, Zuckerman, Danish, Claessens, Lieberman and Schneiderman—*all born outside the United States*, and Thomas, Budenz, Holmes, Wood, Beardsley, Dunn and Shiplacoff. The birthplace of Shiplacoff is not known. Dunn affiliates more actively with the Communists than with the Socialists.

Seven are affiliated with the Rand School. They are: Schlossberg, Danish, Lieberman, Hillquit—*born outside the United States*—and Thomas, Holmes and Beardsley.

Nine are connected with the League for Industrial Democracy (formerly the Intercollegiate Socialist Society). They are Hillquit, Danish, Vladeck and Muste, *born outside the United States*—and Dunn, Holmes, Ernst, Thomas and Sayre. The birthplace of Ernst is not known.

Ten are connected with the American Civil Liberties Union. They are Vladeck, Muste, Schneiderman, Wise, *all born outside the United States*, and Dunn, Holmes, Wood, Thomas, Sayre and Villiard.

Seven are affiliated with the Fellowship of Reconciliation. They are Muste and Wise, *born outside the*

United States, and Holmes, Thomas, Wood, Sayre and Villard.

Eight are connected with the radical Socialist Magazine known as "The Labor Age," formerly the "Socialist Review." They are Danish, Vladeck, Muste, Schneiderman, Budenz, Cohn, Budish, *all born outside the United States*, and Holmes.

Six are found connected with the Pioneer Youths, a part of what is commonly called the Youth Movement in the United States. They are Schlossberg, Danish, Vladeck, Muste, Lieberman and Cohn, *all born outside the United States*.

Three members of the "Center" are on the board of the Garland Fund, which supplies financial aid to radical movements and propaganda. They are Dunn, Ernst and Thomas.

This by no means completes the list of interesting "hook-ups" of the Non-Intervention Citizens' League with radical propaganda organizations and with organizations offering fertile fields for sowing propaganda.

This Non-Intervention Committee, through its "Center" personnel is connected with forty (40) different organizations, thirteen (13) of which functioned before the war and while we were in the war, three (3) educational movements and nine (9) publications.

In order to keep the record straight and that the reader may understand the nature, character, and purpose of these organizations, educational institutions and publications, they are listed herewith.

The thirteen (13) organizations functioning during the war or immediately preceding or thereafter, are:

The Liberty Defense; The People's Council; First American Conference for Terms of Peace; Emergency Peace Federation; League to Limit Armament; Civil Liberties Bureau; Neutral Conference Committee; Collegiate Anti-Military League; Union for Democratic Control; National Trade Union Committee for Russia; American Relief for Russian Children; People's Freedom Union; American Union Against Militarism.

The twenty-seven (27) organizations functioning since the war, most of which are today carrying on some form of anti-American and un-American propaganda are: The Amalgamated Clothing Workers; The Pioneer Youth; the Russian Industrial Corporation; the Socialist Party of America; the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers Union; the Conference for Progressive Political Action; the League for Industrial Democracy; the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union; the Workingmen's Circle; the Civic Club of New York City; the American Civil Liberties Union; the Fellowship of Reconciliation; the Teachers' Union of New York; the Textile Workers' Union; the Knit Goods Workers' Union; the Woman's Trade Union League; the Open Forum Speakers' Council; the American-Russian Reconstruction Farms; the Russian American Industrial Corporation; the Garland Fund; the Committee of Academic Freedom; the Committee on Militarism; the People's Legislative Service; the Association for the Advancement of the Colored People; the Foreign Policy Association; the Church League for Industrial Democracy; the Fellowship of Youth for Peace.

Where does the Federal Council of Churches come in?

The Federal Council of Churches is found to be singing a loud and important melody in this very mixed choir. The Non-Intervention "Citizens" Committee is divided into six groups. Under the designation "Clergy" we find the following Federal Council general staff officers: Rev. Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, President of the Federal Council of Churches; Samuel M. Cavert, General Secretary, Federal Council of Churches, and lined up in their distinguished platoon are, among others, Dr. Samuel Guy Inman, Rev. Ralph W. Sockman, Rev. Karl Reiland, Rev. O. Russell Bowie, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Rev. John H. Lathrop, Rev. John W. Langdale, Rev. S. M. Shoemaker, Jr., Rev. Henry Emerson Cobb, Rev. A. Lane Miller, Rev. T. Guthrie Speers, Rev. Finis S. Idleman, Rev. W. T. Crocker, Rev. Minot Simons, Rev. Halford E. Luccock, and Rev. Isaac Landman.

President Cadman told the world how this whole Central American matter was to be handled by the sovereign government of the United States, under the direction of the Federal Council on January 15, 1927, in the *New York Herald Tribune*. He admitted that he did not know all the facts upon which to base a correct opinion, but he assured his readers that the Federal Council was giving the issues consideration, and that the Administrative Committee of the Council (corresponding to the College of Cardinals, but with much more power) would shortly make a full statement by which the yeomanry of America would be able to govern its mental processes.

But like the Prescient Field Marshal that he is, Dr. Cadman snaps his fingers at such carefully com-

piled information as the Nation's Department of State, with its manifold avenues of information is in possession of, and says, in effect, "Pooh, pooh, for facts!" Quoting verbatim his published pronouncement, he said, in the paper and on the date cited above, "*No matter what the facts may be* * * * there is no occasion for resorting to other than peaceful means of settlement." Truly, this great hierarchy of Churches in America, thus definitely and pronouncedly hooked up with this fine assortment of outstanding patriotic "Citizens" and organizations, is most helpful in its attempted gratuitous chauffeuring of the foreign policy of the Republic, in a crisis when every counsel of wisdom would indicate the need for cautious, thoroughly well-advised statements, or none at all.

Prominent among the list of church leaders yoked up with the Non-Intervention "Citizens" Committee, is the Rev. Samuel Guy Inman. The Non-Intervention Committee held a "School for Speakers" in New York City on February 23rd and 24th, 1927; and Dr. Inman was on the faculty. Dr. Inman made the statement that when the United States was at war, he was in Mexico, serving as the head of the People's Institute, and that some 500 or 600 of those whom he graduated were now in *strategic* positions in the present Mexican government. The People's Institute was, and is, an organization designed to teach the theories of Socialism and Communism, properly sugar-coated.

When his country is at war, Dr. Inman is in a foreign country, teaching under a thin disguise the principles calculated to aid and comfort the enemy.

And when his country is endeavoring to steer a cautious course and avoid any necessity for other than a peaceful arbitrament, the Reverend Doctor is found to be home, engaged with a motley crew in rocking the boat. It is very probable that if such citizens as Schlossberg, Vladeck, Beckerman, Cohn, Muste, Budish, Zuckerman, Danish, Claessens, Lieberman, Schneiderman, Budenz, and Shiplacoff were to attend divine services in a body, they would not be unlikely to select their colleague as their chaplain.

Dr. Sidney L. Gulick is one of the outstanding members of the cabinet of the Federal Council of Churches. Dr. Gulick preceded Dr. Inman on the program of the Non-Intervention Committee's School for Speakers in February. Dr. Gulick represents the West Coast of the Pacific in the Federal Council's College of foreign Ambassadors Extraordinary. The activities of Dr. Gulick and the other members of the Federal Council's general staff in relation to the crisis in China, are viewed with exceeding joy by the Communist Third Internationale. They are playing the game exactly as the Third Internationale directed that it be played.

The Communists have avowed their desire and plan to play one faction against another in China, for the purpose, *not* of effecting Chinese liberty or Chinese progress, but for the open purpose of setting up a Soviet Government there.

Part of their thesis for the Second Congress of the Communist Internationale reads as follows:

"Foreign domination has obstructed the free development of the social forces, and, therefore, its over-

throw is the first step toward a *revolution* in the colonies. So, to help overthrow the foreign rule in the colonies is *not* to endorse the *Nationalist aspirations* of the natives, but to open the way to the *smothered proletariat* there." The "smothered proletariat," as used here, of course, means the actual and potential Soviet forces. Lenin goes on to say, somewhat naively, that "For the overthrow of foreign capitalism, which is the *first step toward revolution*, the cooperation of the bourgeois Nationalist revolutionary elements is useful." In other words, the first step toward making China Communistic and Soviet, is to incite her natives, from mistaken patriotic motives to throw out all foreign capital; and then the wedge of communism may be entered.

Now, the Third Internationale, acting upon this well-defined program, set about to accomplish their purpose. In the "Communist International," the official organ of the Executive Committee of the Third Internationale, in the issue of February 28, 1927, we read:

"In order to mobilize all the 'reserves' *of the Internationale* Revolutionary Movement, it is necessary to carry out, with the speed commensurate with the exceptional importance of the matter, the *united front* under the *slogan*, 'Hands off China,' while at the same time, the Communists' parties must act independently and employ all forms of mass revolutionary struggle."

Now shortly after this directive went forth from Moscow, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ

in America, whether innocently or not, stepped into the parade with both feet, and voted excellent "Hands off China" resolutions, exactly as Moscow desired. Nor was the Communist group ungrateful to the Federal Council for this helpful action; for the "Daily Worker," the official organ of the Workers (Communist) Party of America, in its issue of March 28, 1927, says: "China's National awakening, which has been marked by the leadership of students and working-class agitators, has no terrors for the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. That alliance of 22,000,000 Protestant church members, which *often is heard* in defense of civil liberties and the right of collective bargaining, has issued a letter of congratulation to the Nationalist Movement in China. Coming at the moment of the Fall of Shanghai, it can be interpreted only as a pledge of cooperation."

Is it a coincidence? Is the friendly, appreciative attitude of the Third Internationale toward the action of the General Council in Mexican, Nicaraguan and Chinese affairs an accident?

Wherever we find strong movements operating to embarrass the delicate activities and negotiations of our Government, the Federal Council is found aligned with these movements. When we find a program of insidious, adroit intrigue skillfully played by communism to further its long, patient ends, we note that communism gratefully counts the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America as one of its dependable "reserves." Does the war college of the Federal Council, the Administrative Committee, indeed speak for 20,000,000 American Protestant citizens?

Chapter XIV

WILL THE CHURCHES OR THE GOVERNMENT ACT?

THERE is nothing that a member of Congress fears more than the disfavor of church members. Especially do those who are not acquainted with the workings of the Protestant churches view with alarm any protest that comes from an organization which claims to represent them. The manner in which the church leaders mobilized the sentiment of the country behind prohibition has profoundly impressed every man in public life.

But the wide scope of the activities of the controlling group of the Federal Council and its allied organizations has raised the question as to its authority to speak for 20,000,000 church members, among the more thoughtful members of Congress. Some of them are active in church affairs and they have been making quiet and discreet inquiries in church circles and they have found very little knowledge among laymen and even among pastors of the political activities of the Federal Council in national and international affairs. The great majority of pastors and laymen have come in contact only with local Federal Councils which in the main have confined their efforts to coordinating the efforts of the different

denominations in strictly religious affairs. The great body of earnest Christian men and women who have confined their efforts to "Brighten up the corner where you are," have not been advised of the ambitious program of the super-Federal Council in national and international affairs.

But too many members of Congress have simply accepted the claims of the super-Federal Council group at their face value. Not until Representative Arthur M. Free of California introduced a resolution in the closing days of the sixty-ninth Congress was the authority of the controlling group of the Federal Council and allied organizations to speak for 20,000,000 church members in all things political, questioned.

Previous to this there had been much quiet discussion in the cloak-rooms by members of Congress of the dangerous tendencies of a group of the clergy to participate in politics. They would declare, in private conversation, not for publication, of course, that this course on the part of certain clergical leaders is contrary to the American doctrine for the separation of the state and church. Some of them would go so far as to point out that it might develop a clerical and anti-clerical party or group as exists in Europe. It remained for Mr. Free to courageously direct the attention of Congress and the country to this dangerous tendency.

Mr. Free's resolution was introduced as the result of the publication of the charges contained in the first chapter of this book. That a searching investigation of the activities of the Federal Council should be made for the information of the members of

Congress as well as all Protestant churchmen was made plain by the character of the speech inserted in the Congressional Record after the adjournment of Congress by Representative John E. Rankin of Mississippi. Mr. Rankin in his impassionate outburst against Mr. Free and his resolution showed clearly that he has read very little of the great mass of literature that had been circulated by the Federal Council and is not acquainted with its activities for the past ten years. He has not even read carefully the hearings before Congressional Committees at which the officials of the Federal Council appeared, much further than their frequent declaration that they were speaking for 20,000,000 Protestant church members.

In replying to the charge that the Federal Council had been falsely claiming to speak for 20,000,000 church men and women, Mr. Rankin declares:

"The truth of the matter is that it (Federal Council) represents more than 20,000,000 of the God-fearing, liberty-loving, patriotic, moral, intelligent, Christian men, women and children of the United States."

If this is true neither Mr. Rankin nor the controlling group of the Federal Council should object to the inquiry which Mr. Free proposes in his resolution. Mr. Rankin would render a great service to Congress if he can establish the claim that any organization possesses the authority for speaking to the Executive and Legislative branches of the Government for not only all Protestant Christians, but babies in the cradle. It is really due Congress as well as church people that the exact character of the

authority of the Federal Council be established beyond peradventure of a doubt.

From some of the communications that Mr. Free has received from church leaders since the introduction of the resolution, astonishment is expressed that any organization should assume to voice the sentiments of Protestants on political questions. Others indicate that they have already started an investigation of the activities of the Federal Council and declare that they will bring it to the attention of the next general conference or assembly of their denomination. Mr. Free has been almost uniformly commended for his efforts to clear up the situation, first through the churches, and then in Congress if the status of the Federal Council is not made clear by clerical organizations.

Mr. Free took this action with an earnest desire to ascertain whether such authority as is claimed by Mr. Rankin has been conferred upon the Federal Council. No member of Congress entertains a higher regard for the sacred character of the Church than Mr. Free. Not only in the introduction of his resolution but in all his public career he has supported all measures which he thought were for the upbuilding of public morals. He has been unswerving in his support of prohibition.

The resolution which he introduced and the statement which he gave out at the time indicates clearly that Mr. Free has no intentions of bringing an indictment against the organized churches or their 20,000,000 members. A careful reading of both will prove this to any fair-minded man or woman. There

is nothing in them but solicitude for the welfare of the churches.

The following is the text of the resolution:

"WHEREAS, There has appeared in a magazine most serious charges against the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, and

"WHEREAS, It is set forth in these charges that representatives of the Council are falsely claiming to speak for 20,000,000 church members in supporting or opposing important legislation pending before Congress, and

"WHEREAS, It is charged that the Federal Council and its affiliated and cooperating organizations have an annual budget of about a million dollars, and

"WHEREAS, Representatives of the Council are appearing frequently before Committees of the Congress, and

"WHEREAS, It is of vital interest to the House of Representatives and the Committees thereof to be advised regarding the influences and connections of organizations and representatives of such organizations seeking to influence legislation,

"THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the Committee on the Judiciary be directed to give the officials of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America an opportunity to submit an answer to the charges made in said magazine, and that the publishers and editors of the magazine, and the authors of the charges, be invited to submit evidence in support of the charges made by said magazine, which charges are as follows:

"1. That the Federal Council of Churches is attempting to take charge of affairs of the civil government and is continually adding to its program of the attempted management of affairs which are distinctly non-religious and outside of the missions of the church as most members see it. The writers believe it is undermining the teachings of Christ and the constitutional policy of the United States for the separation of the State and the Church.

"2. That the group that controls the Federal Council of Churches is falsely claiming to represent twenty million members of the Christian Churches in national and international affairs. That it is in no way a representative body as will be shown by

its constitution and the manner of selecting its controlling committees.

"3. That the Federal Council of Churches is cooperating with and frequently working under the direction of radical groups. The same radical groups are affiliated with the Third Internationale, which is seeking to destroy all churches and to stifle all religion.

"4. That from its inception the Federal Council has combated every measure of adequate defense for the nation. It carried on a campaign against preparedness, even when the country was being drawn into the World War. The Federal Council is regularly cooperating with organizations which refused to support the government when it was in the great conflict.

"5. That among the leaders of the Federal Council are men who are also active and influential directors in many radical subversive organizations. The left wing or more radical element in the Federal Council, is exerting an ever increasing influence.

"6. That every effort to strengthen the laws for the exclusion of undesirable immigrants from this country has been opposed by the Federal Council. In this it has acted under the direction of the American Civil Liberties Union which boasts of its radicalism.

"7. That the Federal Council, when the League of Nations covenant was pending before the Senate, insisted that the twenty million church members were demanding that the United States should join the league. This will be substantiated by official reports of the Council.

"8. That the Federal Council, directed by a group of high-priced international lawyers, succeeded in convincing the Senate that the great body of church members was demanding that the United States adhere to the World Court covenant. In this campaign Elihu Root and George W. Wickersham were prominent and assumed the role of church leaders.

"9. That the controlling group of the Federal Council favors the complete cancellation of the foreign debt and is only waiting for an opportune moment to mobilize the organization behind such a program.

"10. That the final objective of the controlling group of the Federal Council is a united or state church with power to deal

with all political and economic questions even to the tariff. This statement will be supported by official documents of the Council.

"11. The entire program of the Federal Council is contrary to the teachings of Christ and is paganism under the guise of Christianity according to the multitude of devout church members.

"12. That the controlling group has at its command through the Federal Council and its affiliated and cooperating organizations an annual budget of about a million dollars.

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Committee on the Judiciary be directed to report to the House whether or not this is a subject for further investigation and recommendations to the House."

Mr. Free's resolution, it will be observed, is more of the character of an inquiry than a demand for a sweeping investigation by Congress of the Federal Council. It is simply a request that the Committee on Judiciary take under consideration any evidence that may be submitted in support of the charges and any answer that the Federal Council may choose to make. In stating his purpose in introducing the resolution, Mr. Free declared:

"I realize that there is but little possibility of securing any action on my resolution relative to the charges brought in a magazine against the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America at this session of Congress, but I do feel that by the introduction of the resolution I may bring about a study of the matter by the churches of the country prior to the opening of the next session of Congress.

"From time to time the members of Congress have received communications on all sorts of legislative matters from the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, which organization

consistently claims to represent in excess of twenty million church people in the United States.

"Some of the representations made by this Council do not seem to me to be in harmony with representations made to me by various church organizations throughout the United States. This was particularly impressed upon me when a communication was presented by the American Civil Liberties Union to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, of which I am a member, asking for a hearing on behalf of that organization, and other organizations, including the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America on the so-called Deportation Bill H. R. 3774.

"I had understood that the churches generally favored that bill and was utterly surprised to find that a representative of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America appeared in opposition to certain provisions in the bill at that hearing, and particularly opposed the provisions which provided that an alien sentenced to imprisonment for a term of one year or more in a penitentiary should be deported and objected to the provisions providing for deportation in case the cumulative sentences of an alien amounted to as much as eighteen months.

"These activities on the part of the Federal Council have been, to say the least, confusing to members of Congress, a majority of whom themselves are members of some church.

"The Federal Council officials should not only answer the charges set forth in the articles in the magazine referred to in my resolution, but make clear their relations with the great body of church members.

"I would prefer to have this situation cleared up within the churches so that the members of Congress will be advised whether it is the intention of church members to permit the Federal Council to go into national and international politics as spokesman for them on matters not of a religious or moral character. Otherwise I will press my resolution for passage in the next session of Congress."

The vital issues raised here cannot be brushed aside, as attempted by Mr. Rankin, with a sweeping declaration that the charges are directed against the Christian faith. Objections to the ambitious schemes of the group which is attempting to use the Protestant churches to advance their political plans cannot be taken as an attack upon religion or the organized church.

It is for the 20,000,000 members so often referred to by the Federal Council to decide whether the churches are to be drawn into politics. Is politics to be preached from the pulpit? Are we, contrary to the teachings of Christ, the Constitution and the spirit of American Institutions, to have in effect a union of the state and church?

Only an awakening of the great body of earnest Christian men and women will avert this catastrophe to the Church and State.

Chapter XV

DR. CADMAN PLEADS GUILTY

THAT the clergymen and laymen of every Protestant denomination have taken the charges made in the first chapter of this book as a serious indictment of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America is clearly shown in the letters which are being received by Representative Arthur M. Free, of California, who introduced the resolution for their investigation by Congress. The activities and tendencies of the controlling group of the Federal Council have not gone unnoticed by many earnest and sincere Christians. Before Mr. Free's resolution called the attention of the country to this subject a great many church leaders had become thoroughly alarmed at the political activities of the Federal Council.

There is a tendency in many of the letters to accept the suggestion of Mr. Free that the investigation should be conducted by the churches. This it is generally admitted would be a wiser course as it would keep the affairs of the churches out of Congress. However, many of the letters are rather insistent that Mr. Free press his resolution for passage at the next session and that the affairs of the Federal Council be thoroughly aired.

Some of the churches have already taken steps to let the Federal Council know that it has no authority to speak for them in large affairs. The leadership in this movement has been taken by the United Lutheran Church in America. That denomination appointed an official board of visitors with instructions to make a thorough investigation of the policy and methods of the Federal Council.

This action was taken in 1924 and the official visitors did not report until October of 1926. With what great care this work was done by the official visitors is indicated by the declaration in the first paragraph of the document which states that the visitors "have delayed a formal report to the executive board of the United Lutheran Church in order to give particular study to the official record of proceedings rather than to merely recite the story with incidental impressions of the occasion."

And this thorough research into the activities of the Federal Council sustains all of the essential charges set forth in the first chapter of this book. It goes further and predicts that the Federal Council "must collapse from within or it must be recognized as a super church body."

The report goes on to say:

"The elaborate organization of the federation, with commissions for almost every conceivable phase of human interest and activity, religious, educational, social, industrial and political; local, national and international, presents an overwhelming task for analytical study and evaluation.

"Without an extended statement of grounds for them, we modestly present such conclusions as we

have reached in such study as we have been able to make, for whatever consideration you may judge them to be worth.

"1. That the Federal Council, in its organization and activities, is more formally than actually representative of the constituency for which it speaks and acts. Notwithstanding the official relationship of the various church bodies to the Council, and the provisions made for review of its activities, we are convinced that few of the people in the constituent bodies and only a small per cent of the leaders even are well enough acquainted with, or are definitely enough interested in the activities of the Council, to make these bodies consciously responsible for the spirit of action of the Council or to direct, in any large way, its course of action.

"2. That the Federal Council is the consistent expression of reformed Protestantism of the most distinctive type, calvinistic to be specific, with attitude, principles and activities determined according to that type modified by other contacts only in so far as policy requires. Accordingly, the activities of the Council, in social, civic and political spheres, are not always in harmony with the spirit of the gospel, or consistent with the principles of separation between the church and the state. It appears to us that in relation to society at large, and in relation to government, it goes far in attempting in the name of Protestantism what it condemns in Romanism. However, in accord with its calvinistic views and spirit along certain lines, and in many specific instances, the Federal Council has been an efficient agency in promoting legitimate cooperation among

groups of churches, in bringing about a better understanding, in the cultivation of a better public sentiment and in modifying governmental policies where the rights of the church were involved.

"3. That much of the 'survey' work of the Federal Council is too superficially made to furnish reliable data for general conclusions, and that in many instances, determining views are too unsound to be accepted as a sound basis for theories, policies and programs.

"4. That the Federal Council seems to be largely committed to the legalistic conception of God and of human life, and is not responsive to that which is distinctively evangelical. But by this we do not wish to say that there are not outstanding individuals in the Federal Council who are evangelical in spirit and in words, but they do not give character to the Council as a whole.

"5. That the Federal Council, through the multiplication of commissions, is projecting its activities to such a degree that only one of two things can result in no distant future:

(1) It must collapse from within, or
(2) It must be recognized as a super-church body.

"6. That the Federal Council shows strong tendencies, if not clear purpose, to foster and promote certain things which involve unfaithfulness and compromise in full testimony to the truth. These two things we name: (1) Unionism, and (2) the community church.

"7. That there is some evidence of a disposition to shift responsibility for some courses of some

council departments and commissions, when such departments or commissions draw criticism upon themselves."

The Presbyterian Church has not gone as far as the Lutheran, but has taken steps to curb the activities of the Federal Council by giving it notice that "all pronouncements on great moral questions which affect this church be submitted to the general assembly for approval."

Walter I. Clarke, manager publicity department, Presbyterian General Assembly, in a letter to Mr. Free, calls attention to this. Mr. Clarke says:

"I quote from the official minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. meeting in Baltimore, June 2, 1926:

" 'The standing committee on bills and overtures presents a report which was adopted as follows:

" 'Overture 6—That the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. deplores the recent unauthorized pronouncement of the Federal Council of Churches upon the prohibition question; and requests that in the future all pronouncements upon great moral questions which affect this church be submitted to the general assembly for approval.'

"I will be pleased to have you keep me posted concerning the results of your action."

Reverend James M. Gray, President Moody Bible Institute, Chicago, in his letter to Mr. Free, indicates that he has been giving serious thought to the policy of the Federal Council, and has reached the conclusion that it is not in harmony with the distinctively American doctrine of the separation of the state and church. He says:

"I am interested in the newspaper reports of your resolution proposing an inquiry into the political activities of the Federal Council of Churches. Many earnest and sincere Christians will likewise be interested and for their sake as well as my own I would like to receive a copy of your resolution. I am sending you a copy of the Moody Bible Institute monthly of February, containing an editorial 'Church and State' which is along the line on which you are thinking."

Another indication of objections not only to the policy of the Federal Council but to the character of its controlling group comes from Rev. I. Cochrane Hunt, Minister of the First Presbyterian Church, of Memphis, Mo. He represents the southern branch of the Presbyterian Church.

In the course of his letter, Reverend Hunt says:

"The church of which I am minister—southern Presbyterian—is a member of the Federal Council and our representatives have spent much valuable time and effort vainly protesting against many of the things of which you complain. I do not object to Congressional action by which undue activity of any church as indicated in your resolution, may be definitely restrained. But I believe that the most lasting effect could be obtained by the constituent churches themselves, through their supreme judicatories, in laying down policies of the Federal Council and definitely limiting its rights and power to speak for the constituent churches outside of the realm of spiritual life—incidentally, *removing from leadership professional propagandists* of any cause."

From Rev. C. J. Fisher, pastor of the Congregational Church of Kewanee, Illinois, comes an

emphatic declaration that the Federal Council does not represent his church, and refers to its efforts as "un-American propaganda." He says:

"I am in hearty sympathy with your resolution. The Federal Council does not represent the Congregational Church of Kewanee, Illinois, or any of its members. We have never delegated to the above organization any right, power, or authority to speak for us on any subject whatsoever. I am not in sympathy nor are any of my members, with the remarkable activities of the Council along certain lines. It is high time that some one should investigate this self-appointed group, and put a limit to their unofficial, unrepresentative and often un-American propaganda."

"Bordering on sedition" is the classification that Rev. Frederick Getty, pastor of the M. E. Church, Oak Grove, Missouri, gave to the Federal Council literature. His views are given in few words but they have no uncertain ring. In the course of his letter, Reverend Getty says:

"I want to send a word of commendation for your resolution. I have been disturbed again and again by communications received from the Federal Council. While they claim to represent the churches, let me say positively that they do not speak for all the churches nor for all the preachers. My judgment is that *many of their utterances border upon sedition.*"

Rev. John P. Martin, pastor of the Community M. E. Church, Goshen, Ohio, in the course of his letter to Mr. Free described how the radicals used what used to be known as mob tactics in putting through pacifist resolutions. He says:

"Here is an illustrative incident. At the State Pastors' Conference in Columbus, last January, resolutions were passed demanding the outlawry of war and criticizing the foreign policy of the United States. About a thousand pastors were in attendance, but the resolutions were drafted by minor groups and were not brought before the conference until just before adjournment, when about 200 were present. The resolution did not represent one-third of the pastors and very few of them had brought them to the attention of their congregations. The Protestant church members are not pacifists. I hope Congress will be able to get the facts about the Federal Council."

These are quotations from a few of the great flood of letters which Mr. Free received from pastors before he left Washington. The resolution was introduced only four days before Congress adjourned and yet he had received several hundred letters before he left for his home in California. It will be noted that most of them come from the smaller cities where it is contended that pacifism has gained a stronger foothold.

About as many letters came from prominent laymen as were received from clergymen. There are indications of an awakening in this quarter to the dangerous tendency of the Federal Council's policy. William J. Vanyon, an attorney of St. Joseph, Mich., protests vigorously against the assumption of authority on the part of the Federal Council. He declared:

"More power to you! I wondered why Congress has not investigated this organization, professing to speak for 20,000,000 church people, when in fact it

does not speak for anyone except its officers. As one who has contributed nearly $9,000 to the building of a new Congregational Church here, and whose brothers put up another $4,000, I desire to say that the Federal Council has never represented us. I doubt that there are more than six members of our congregation consisting of more than 200 families, who know anything about the Council or its officers, except when our minister in the past mentioned something he wanted to put over."

From Denver, Colo., over the signature of Duncan Bond, comes a cheering paragraph to Mr. Free. He says:

"Your resolution is commendable and timely. I have made contributions to churches from time to time, but am decidedly of the opinion that church and state should be kept separate, along the lines upon which our forefathers conceived our form of government as to liberty and religious freedom."

Harry A. Jung, a prominent business man of Chicago, Illinois, objects to the efforts of the Federal Council to take over the duties of the regularly elected members of Congress. He goes straight to the point, writing:

"I am not an unbeliever, an atheist or agnostic. My quarrel with the Federal Council is wholly that of a patriotic citizen, who has felt that this body is endeavoring to influence the judgment of the elected representatives of the people; and since they are mostly hair-splitting theologians, their religious fervor makes them dangerous to our common weal when they get far afield from the things that should concern them most."

Harold J. Howe, of Chicago, an attorney and a Methodist, who has given his service as an instructor at the military training camps, declares emphatically that the Federal Council does not represent the rank and file of the churches. Writing to Mr. Free, he says.

"As a member of the Protestant Church, and as a citizen, I congratulate you. Your action is fully justified, for the Council does not represent the opinion of the rank and file of the church members, even the Methodist Church of which I am a member. I am a graduate of the University of Illinois, where military training is compulsory and the student body is proud of its R.O.T.C. unit whose graduates gave such a good account of themselves during the war. I have been an instructor at the C.M.T.C. camps at Camp Custer. The charges made by these self-appointed representatives of the churches are childish."

Doctor Corliss D. Coon, of Manson, Iowa, declares that the claim of the Federal Council that it represents 20,000,000 church members is laughable. In the course of his letter he says:

"I extend my sincere hope that your efforts will be successful. The Federal Council claims to represent 20,000,000 people. This is laughable. I belong to the Methodist Church, which is affiliated, and I know many like myself are not in accord with the activities of the Council. I know of members who do not even know what the organization is or what it stands for. There are plenty of red-blooded Americans among the membership of the churches who *are being grossly misrepresented by this organization.*"

The patriotic organizations of the country promptly rallied to the support of the Free resolution and are insisting that it shall be passed. Among them are the veteran organizations and the Daughters of the American Revolution. They have not yet had time to act in a national capacity when this was written, but some of the branches have been heard from by Mr. Free.

The first to respond was Margaret N. McCluer, National President of the American War Mothers. She telegraphed Mr. Free that:

"We heartily commend and endorse your resolution for the investigation of the Federal Council of Churches. Congratulate you on your patriotic service and trust the resolution may be adopted. Their kind of propaganda is pernicious and should be stopped."

Realizing the danger of the spotlight on their activities the controlling group of the Federal Council proceeded cautiously with a campaign to smother any discussion of their policy or methods. At this writing no answer has come from the Federal Council of Churches to the charges in the Free Resolution or the statements that were made in a magazine which published a portion of this book. The efforts of the controlling group up to this time were confined to an attempt to stop the publication of the articles in the magazine, and a statement by Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, President of the Federal Council, that this discussion is an interference with the freedom of the pulpit.

Quite unexpectedly one of the authors of this book was called into a conference at which two representatives of the Federal Council were vehemently

denouncing the authors and declaring that there was no truth in the charges brought against the Federal Council. When the author was ushered into the room with the declaration by the editor, "Here is one of the men who wrote these articles," the representative of the Federal Council drew himself up and turning to the editor, said, "You understand me, I came here to talk to you as the editor of this magazine. I will have nothing to say to this man," giving his index finger a scornful slant as he pointed to the unexpected author.

In response to an inquiry as to what it was all about the editor answered, "They declare that you made no effort to obtain information from the officials of the Federal Council, and that you wrote entirely from sources unfriendly to the Council."

To this the reply was made that a letter was written to Doctor Cadman asking for information relative to the purposes, policy and character of the Federal Council. The letter was referred to Doctor MacFarland, one of the general secretaries of the Federal Council, who answered it. The letter did not give the authors all the information that they desired, and one of them visited the New York headquarters of the Federal Council. He spent three days discussing the affairs of the Council with anyone connected with it who was willing to talk. It was explained that he was not able to get in touch with Doctor MacFarland who was reported as being out whenever he called.

At this point the editor said, "Why, this is Doctor MacFarland."

The author declared with considerable enthusiasm, "Why, Doctor MacFarland, I am pleased to meet you at last."

This advance was met with the same declaration by Doctor MacFarland, "I will have nothing to say to this man."

Turning to the editor, the author said, "What other objections have they to our articles?"

The editor responded, "They say that you have absolutely misrepresented them in relation to preparedness."

Turning to Doctor MacFarland, the author defied him to place his finger on one measure of preparedness for the Army, Navy or Reserves, aside from additional chaplains for the Army and Navy, that the representatives of the Federal Council in their numerous hearings before Congressional Committees, had supported.

Drawing his robes majestically about him, Doctor MacFarland swept from the room, declaring that he would not say a word "to that man."

Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, President of the Federal Council, attempts to parry the blow that is aimed at the Council, by a more adroit movement. In his column syndicated in the daily press under the heading of "Doctor Cadman's Counsel," he asks himself under date of Detroit, Michigan, the following question:

"What have you to say about the attempts to interfere with the freedom of the Christian pulpit which have recently been commented upon in the press?"

Before giving part of Doctor Cadman's answer to his own question, we are constrained to note the similarity between his method of thought and that of the American Civil Liberties Union. The American Civil Liberties Union, under the disguise of contending for the freedom of speech and the press, is conducting a campaign for Communism, Socialism, Soviet Russia, and all subversive propaganda. It insists that an alien has the right to come to this country and advocate the overthrow of the government. Any restraint that should be placed upon an alien's activity in this line in the way of deportation is limiting free speech.

In his answer Doctor Cadman, after indulging in some wandering remarks relative to the freedom of the pastor's vocation, calls attention to the recent declarations of clericals on the "supremacy of Christ as the Lord of human life, whose laws reign in every department of man's activity for common welfare." In his concluding paragraph he says:

"Read the Encyclicals of the Vatican and the official declarations of the great Protestant Communes of Great Britain and America upon peace, war and industrial problems. They may convince you that a new era has dawned for Christian preaching of which neither its would-be corrupters nor its prejudiced censors are fully aware."

In this Doctor Cadman pleads guilty to the underlying charges printed in these pages. He has brought with him to this country from England the old doctrine of the State Church. It is this which drove our forefathers to the new world in search of religious liberty through the separation of the state and church.

Chapter XVI

THE RADICAL "HOOK-UP" OF THE FEDERAL COUNCIL

NO RADICAL society liveth to itself. The outstanding phenomenon in the radical movement in America, as elsewhere, is the widespread inter-locking of membership.

The radical, liberal, socialistically inclined, internationalistic, airy, utopian "forward-looker," counts that day lost in which he fails to join a new society or else to found one.

Take the Rev. John Haynes Holmes for an example. This eminent divine is the organizer and pastor of the Community Church, formerly the "Church of the Messiah," in New York.

He is, or has been affiliated with the following seditious organizations: Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.), American Civil Liberties Union, Intercollegiate Socialist Society, Amos Council Appeal Committee, Intercollegiate Liberal League, Community Forum, American Association for Labor Legislation, Civil Liberties Bureau, American Committee of Relief for Russian Children, Committee of 48, International Committee for Political Prisoners, League for Industrial Democracy, League of Neighbors, Peoples Legislative Service, Labor

Defense Council, Peoples Council of America, Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Some "joiner."

The favored scheme is to breed radicalism in specially designed societies, and then to transplant it by adroit infiltration into existing, innocent, and often highly proper and useful organizations.

This scheme is worked in two ways. One plan is to send tried and true radicals from the subversive societies into the non-subversive ones.

The other plan is to induce the more radical members of the non-subversive organizations to affiliate with the subversive societies.

In most instances, both schemes are employed simultaneously; and in all instances, the desired results are obtained.

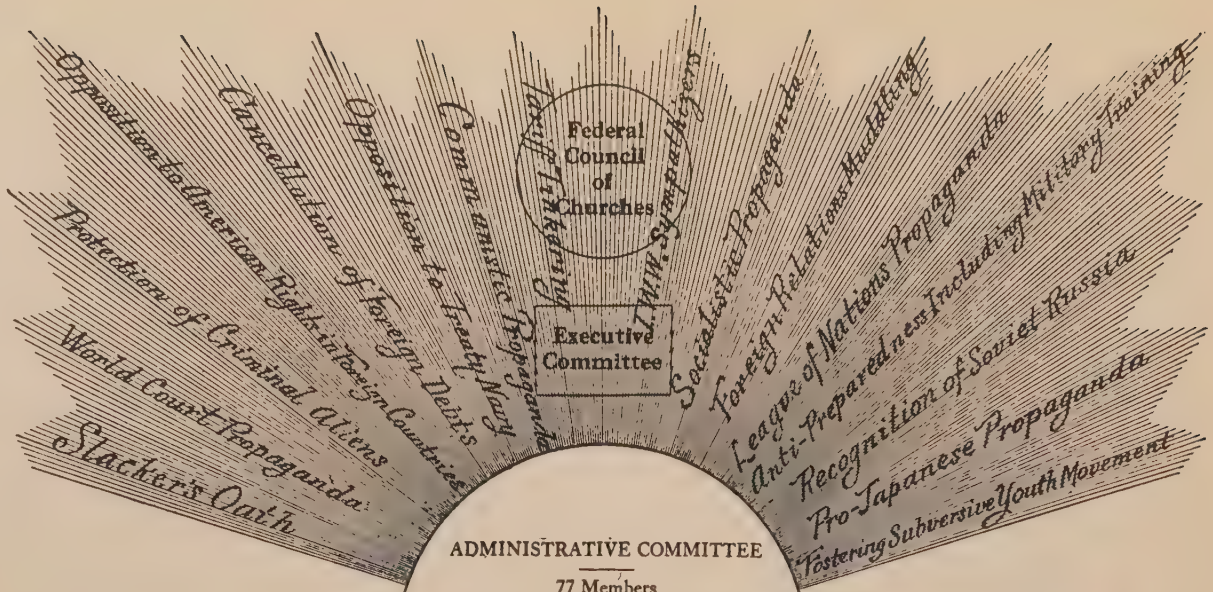
These desired results are, the "pinking" of the staid organization with the doctrine of the radical one; the championing of the radical movements and activities by the reputable societies; and the breakdown of Patriotism, the great *bete noir* of the radical.

The Federal Council of Churches displays a typical, close, Siamese-twin "hook-up" of the sort just described; and the large following of the Federal Council renders this "hook-up," from the viewpoint of the revolutionary element, most desirable; and from the standpoint of national safety and integrity, highly dangerous.

Here, as always, these Federal Council leaders, thus radically "bed-fellowed," speak ever for you and for me and for each and every one of the twenty million American Protestants whose churches have

blindly handed over to the Federal Council their several political proxies.

Herewith is a partial list of the links which bind the Federal Council with the thoroughly organized forces of radicalism, class hatred, and revolution. Were this list complete, it would go down into nearly every village and hamlet, where local privates of radicalism exert their constant and cumulative penny's worth of influence upon the Christian citizenry. At the top, of course, the "hook-up" is more sinister; that is only good strategy.



ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE

77 Members

28—1 from each Denomination.
15—Members at Large.
15—1 from each Commission or Standing Committee.
12—1 from each Affiliated Body.
5—Officers of the Administrative Committee.
2—Former Presidents.

UNOFFICIAL BUT CO-OPERATING SOCIETIES

World's Alliance for International Friendship for the Churches.
World Peace Foundation.

UNOFFICIAL BUT CO-OPERATING SOCIETIES

American Civil Liberties Union.
League of Nations Non-Partisan Association.
National Council for the Pre-

28 DENOMINATIONS REPRESENTING 20,000,000 MEMBERS

Northern Baptist Convention.
National Baptist Convention.
Free Baptist Churches.
Christian Church.
Churches of God in North America.
Congregational Churches.
Disciples of Christ.
Evangelical Church.
Evangelical Synod of North America.
Friends.
Methodist Episcopal Church.
Methodist Episcopal (South).
African M. E. Church.
African M. E. Zion Church.
Colored M. E. Church in America.
Methodist Protestant Church.
Moravian Church.
Presbyterian Church in U. S. A.
Presbyterian Church in U. S. (South).
Primitive Methodist Church.
National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church.
Reformed Church in America.
Reformed Church in the United States.
Reformed Episcopal Church.
Seventh Day Baptist Churches.
United Brethren Church.
United Presbyterian Church.
United Lutheran Church.

15 Members at Large, appointed by the President of the Federal Council.

CO-OPERATIVE AND CONSULTIVE BODIES

Home Mission Council.
Council of Women for Home Missions.
Federation of Women's Boards of Foreign Missions.
International Council of Religious Education.
Council of Church Boards of Education.
American Bible Society.
National Board of Y.W.C.A.
National Board of Y.M.C.A.
Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Conference of North America.
Committee on Co-operation in Latin America.
Students Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions.
Association of Executive Secretaries of Councils of Churches.

COMMISSIONS AND STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE FEDERAL COUNCIL

Commission on Evangelism and Life Service.
Commission on Christian Education.
Commission on Church and Social Service.
Commission on Church and Race Relations.
Commission on International Justice and Good Will.
Committee on Good Will between the Jews and Christians.
Department of Research and Education.
Commission on Relations of Religious Bodies in Europe.
Permanent Washington Committee.
General Committee on Army and Navy Chaplains.
Committee on Relations with the Eastern Churches.
Committee on Mercy and Relief.
Board of Finance.
Committee on Financial and Fiduciary Matters.
Editorial Council of the Religious Press.

Chapter XVII

THE FAMILY TREE

FROM previous chapters as well as from the *subjoined chart* it is apparent that the control of the Federal Council is vested in the Administrative Committee, a majority of which is selected by the President and his group of associates. It is a self perpetuating corporation of New York. All of the churches could withdraw their support and the controlling group could continue to use the name of Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and portentously claim to speak for twenty million Protestant church members. This condition was brought about by the incorporation of the Federal Council under the laws of New York State.

The forty-nine to twenty-eight ratio in the members as shown by the chart does not fully indicate the preponderance of the influence of Dr. S. Parkes Cadman and his group in the Administrative Committee. Most of the twenty-eight representatives of the denomination are busy with the affairs of their churches of a religious character. They are not as a rule professional propagandists and cannot find time to run to New York every month to attend meetings of the Administrative Committee. In actual attendance the members who are appointed by the President

or come through the side door to the Administrative Committee are in control by about three to one.

Aside from this the commission and department act independently although in their announcements they claim to represent the entire membership of the churches affiliated with the Federal Council. Notable instances of this are the Commission of International Justice and Good Will and the Research Department. This is brought out plainly in the report from the Research Department on prohibition and the activities of the Commission on International Justice and Good Will in the League of Nations, World Court, and Immigration campaign.

The date on the composition of the Administrative Committee is chiefly from the latest issue of the Handbook of the Churches, which was formerly known as the Church Yearbook. This is an official publication of the Federal Council, which apparently classifies the League of Nations and World Court as religious organizations for it contains a complete statement of these international organizations. A scanning of the Handbook of the Churches reveals a list of over a hundred societies, organizations, and activities which make no pretension of being religious or in any way connected with the churches. Some of them are controlled by anti-church and anti-religious leaders.

For instance, under the head of "Representative non-denominational religious publications" the "World Tomorrow" is listed. The "World Tomorrow," according to the testimony of Dr. John Nevin Sayre, who was then its editor, was supported by the Garland "Free love" socialist fund.

This is one of the "hook-ups" of the American Civil Liberties Union with the Federal Council as the trustees of the Garland Fund are directors of the American Civil Liberties Union. Rev. Harry F. Ward, Chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union, as has been previously pointed out, is the author of the social creed of the Federal Council. The American Civil Liberties Union has a contact with the Communist party of Russia largely through William Z. Foster, one of the directors of the organization and a candidate to succeed the late Charles E. Ruthenberg as the American Representative of the Third Internationale. Comrade Ruthenberg, it will be recalled, was honored by the Third Internationale by having his ashes placed in Moscow alongside of Lenin and other world revolutionists.

Still, according to the classification of the Federal Council, the "World Tomorrow," which advocates communism and socialism is a representative religious publication. The logical conclusion of this classification is that communism and socialism are religion.

In this the Federal Council authorities take issue with the highest authorities on communism. In a previous chapter it has been brought out that communism is a crusade against religion, but this does not seem to disturb the authors of the Federal Council's Handbook of the Churches, including Dr. Cadman.

There are no pretensions in the chart to give a picture of all of the interlocking relations between the Federal Council of Churches and the different bodies which are supporting its activities. The

National League of Women Voters, recognized radical organization, is not mentioned. Still, according to its report sent out from National Headquarters it is actively supporting the Federal Council. In one of these reports it is set forth:

"Miss Morgan, Chairman of this department, reports that leagues in twenty-three states took part in the Law-not-War demonstrations in July and that many classes and round tables are being conducted at which plans for international peace are discussed. She urges all local leagues to work with the Federal Council of Churches in its program for World Court Week, November 4–11; to circulate petitions addressed to the President; to see that the 'League sermon,' a brief statement for women, is read in the churches, and to sell peace stamps for the two-fold purpose of calling attention to the cause of peace and of raising funds for the leagues which sell them. The 'sermon' and stamps may be secured from Miss Ruth Morgan, 1010 Grand Central Terminal Building, New York City."

Under the head of unofficial cooperating societies is given those organizations which are connected with the Federal Council and the Administrative Committee to interlocking directorships.

An attempt is made to conceal the relations between the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Council for the Prevention of War, but these organizations are cooperating with the Administrative Committee as closely as any of the other organizations. The connecting link between the Administrative Committee and the National Council for the Prevention of War is the World's Alliance for

International Friendship Through the Churches and the American Civil Liberties Union operates largely through the Commission on Church and Social Service. The Commission on Church and Social Service is one of the standing organizations of the Federal Council, the present Chairman of which is Bishop McConnell, who had been shoulder to shoulder with Rev. Harry F. Ward, Chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union in radical activities for years.

The World's Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches and the Church Peace Union have interlocking directors. A majority of the twenty-eight trustees of the Church Peace Union are members of the Administrative Committee and the Administrative Committee controls the World's Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches. A similar relation exists between the other organizations of the unofficial cooperating societies.

Chapter XVIII

AN EXCHANGE OF CORRESPONDENCE

DURING their investigation of the activities of the Federal Council, the authors received from many sources, including the clergy, interesting data; however, space prevents the presentation of all of this material, although it was deemed expedient to include at least "an exchange of correspondence" between a prominent citizen and several of the officials of the Federal Council.

HARRY CURRAN WILBUR
Suite 808
166 W. Jackson Blvd.
Chicago, Ill.

March 29, 1927.

Mr. Sidney L. Gulick, Secretary,
Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America,
612 United Charities Building,
105 E. 22nd Street, New York City.

My dear Sir:

I have just seen a newspaper clipping purporting to have been sent out of Washington, D. C., to the effect that the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America "has issued a letter of congratulation to the nationalist movement in China."

The dispatch further states that "the Federal Council of Churches, in effect, begs the Chinese revolutionary masses to remember that it was through the teachings in the mission schools that the story of Western nations' struggles for liberty

has come to the Chinese inspiring them to win emancipation for themselves."

I would be very much interested in receiving a copy of the purported statement, if the report is correct, because of the bearing it well may have on developments in the Far East.

Thanking you for furnishing me a copy if it is available, I am

Yours very truly,

HCW:B HARRY CURRAN WILBUR

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES
OF CHRIST IN AMERICA
612 United Charities Building
105 East 22d Street, New York.

April 4, 1927.

Mr. Harry Curran Wilbur,
166 West Jackson Boulevard,
Chicago, Illinois.

My dear Mr. Wilbur:

Your letter of March 29 has come to my desk. In reply I am enclosing a copy of the action taken by the Administrative Committee with regard to the situation in China. This I judge is what you desire to see. I also enclose our program for 1927, from which you may see what our constructive policies are.

If you have any other questions with regard to the activities of the Federal Council or this Commission please let me know for it is important that those who are interested in our activities should know fully with regard to them.

Very sincerely yours,
(signed) SIDNEY L. GULICK,
Secretary.

(ENCLOSURE)

"4. That Mr. Cavert continue to serve as editor, and the Secretarial Council appoint a Committee of Three, of which he shall be a member, to consider questions which may arise concerning the character of the material to be included in the *Bulletin.*

"5. That the Committee on Policy continue to study further the larger questions of future policy with reference to the Federal Council Bulletin, and, as the successive issues of the Bulletin

appear, give counsel to the editor as to any points at which the existing policy can be improved.

"6. That in case questions concerning the contents of the publication arise on which the Secretarial Council's Committee of Three feels the need of counsel in advance, the Chairman of the Administrative Committee shall be looked to for such counsel."

Dr. Gulick read cables from Dr. Franklin and from 147 missionaries in Nanking in regard to the urgent need for negotiating new treaties with China and avoiding the use of military force, and reported that a special conference on China had been held, at which a committee had been appointed to draft a statement for submission to the Administrative Committee. This had been done by mail, and on the basis of the replies received a second statement had been drafted. Both were read and after various changes had been made in the second statement, it was

VOTED: That the following statement on China be adopted:

"The Administrative Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America desires, at this time of anxiety and turmoil in China, once more to call attention to the momentous character of the situation that has been developing in that land, and to urge that the United States, in keeping with her historic policy, make justice and friendship paramount in all her dealings with China.

"We desire to express profound sympathy with the Chinese people in their struggle for an independent and sovereign government and in their demands that 'unequal treaties,' 'tariff domination,' 'extra-territoriality' and 'concessions' shall be equitably ended. (*Underscoring Mine—Harry Curran Wilbur.*)

"We believe that the United States should seek to help China in every practicable way to meet her terrific economic, industrial, intellectual, social, moral and religious problems.

"We heartily support the expressed purpose of our Government to undertake the negotiation of new treaties with China based on principles of equality and reciprocity.

"We believe that an attitude of true friendliness toward China must include thorough respect for the Chinese people and a desire to help China to a position of genuine freedom and

equality in the family of nations, with attendant responsibilities, and with the full recognition of reciprocal religious liberty.

"This Committee earnestly hopes that our nation will as promptly as possible approach China, to the end that practical programs may be worked out together through peaceful methods by which to secure these and other needed changes in the relations of our two nations."

HARRY CURRAN WILBUR
Suite 808
166 W. Jackson Blvd.
Chicago, Illinois.

April 7, 1927.

Rev. Dr. Sidney L. Gulick,
Secretary, Federal Council of Churches,
612 United Charities Building,
105 East 22d Street, New York, N. Y.

My dear Dr. Gulick:

Thank you for your courtesy and promptness in sending me, as per my request for information in my letter of March 29, an official copy of the minutes showing the action taken by the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America with regard to the situation in China.

I regret exceedingly to find that the official action checks in completely with the features of the program of the Communist International to utilize and to shape the situation in China so that it will advance the plan of the Communist International to precipitate world revolution.

I wrote you about the matter in the first place because information had come to me from a distinct and uncamouflaged Communist source to the effect that the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America was helping advance the Communist program, whether or not the leaders of that movement realized that they were doing so. I was shown reports of certain purported facts and was told how they were being utilized in China and in this country with a view to creating sentiment that would tend to weaken the support that should be given the Government of the United States in this crisis that may involve

civilization itself. Although this particular informant had never misled me in the past as to what was actually going on, I doubted if he could be correct in this instance and, therefore, I suspended judgment until I had written to you. Your report and the minutes covering the statement as to what was "VOTED" confirms absolutely as to how it was being utilized is beyond controversy.

Working on the theory that you do not have the actual facts as to what has been planned for a long time, worked out from the direct thesis presented by Lenin himself to the Second Congress of the Communist International sitting in Moscow, nor definite data on what is actually happening at the present time and, therefore, lack evidence as to how closely the action taken by the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America checks with the Lenin thesis, I submit some of the most striking facts herewith.

The second paragraph under the heading of "VOTED," on page 5 of the copy of the minutes that you sent me reads as follows:

"We desire to express profound sympathy with the Chinese people in their struggle for an independent and sovereign government and in their demands that 'unequal treaties,' 'tariff domination,' 'extra-territoriality' and 'concessions' shall be equitably ended."

The theory of Lenin, when he was forced to abandon his plan to move his proposed world revolution out of Russia westward, was to turn east in an endeavor to stir up the so-called colonial and "oppressed peoples." The accepted course of action, as you know if you have studied Communist tactics, is to move through what the Communists call the "partial demands," using them for the double purpose of getting closer to the masses and likewise to mislead those who would not catch a glimpse of what was following directly behind these so-called "partial demands." The general thought, so far as this second purpose is concerned, is to mislead through appeals to humanitarianism, etc., in order to give momentum to the real movement and to weaken the hands of governmental authorities who knew exactly what was going on and were seeking to thwart it.

Let me now submit the following quotations from Lenin's thesis drafted for the Second Congress of the Communist International:

"Foreign domination has obstructed the free development of the social forces and, therefore, its overthrow is the first step towards a revolution in the colonies. So to help overthrow the foreign rule in the colonies is not to endorse the nationalist aspirations of the native bourgeoisie but to open the way to the smothered proletariat there."

I note your declaration of "profound sympathy with the Chinese people" and I wish to point out that Lenin himself showed that this was exactly the way to "open the way to the smothered proletariat."

Let me now quote the following from the same thesis of Lenin who is, as I think you will admit, a competent authority on Communist plans and programs:

"For the overthrow of foreign capitalism, which is the first step toward revolution in the colonies, the cooperation of the bourgeois nationalist revolutionary elements is useful. . . . The real strength of the liberation movements in the colonies is no longer confined to the narrow circle of bourgeois nationalists. In most of the colonies there already exist organized revolutionary parties which strive to be in close connection with the working masses."

With especial reference to the last sentence in the quotation just concluded I call your attention to the fact that the Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, concluded in Hankow on April 4, showed the forces of the left in complete control and laid down six major propositions, among the chief of which was the re-establishment of the Military Council with civilian members sitting thereon, the subordination of the military arm to the political arm and the centralization of finance in the hands of the finance ministry. "Expression of views on foreign policy by any party member or official without the authorization of the Central Executive Committee" was expressly prohibited. A public statement by General Chiang Kai-Shek, announcing adherence to these findings was sent throughout China, according to a cable to Communist headquarters in this country, following his some-

what extended conference with Wang Ching-Wei, Left Wing chief and not a military man.

It might be of interest to note in this connection, though it does not bear directly on the point I have just been discussing, that one member of the re-established Military Council is reported in the cable to Communist headquarters from the foreign department of the so-called Nationalist Government of China to be General Feng, the so-called "Christian General." It is also somewhat interesting to note, for such bearing as it may have on the oft-made statement that the leaders of this movement are not Communistic, that the children of both General Chiang Kai-Shek and General Feng Yu-Hsiang, are studying in Moscow and spoke at the Moscow celebration of the fall of Shanghai. This illustrates the degree of truth in the statement that Moscow has lost its contact with the military leaders in China.

I now quote again from the Lenin thesis heretofore referred to:

". . . The Communist parties of the different imperialistic countries must work in conjunction with these proletarian parties of the colonies and through them, give all moral and material support to the revolutionary movement in general. . . . The proletarian parties must carry on vigorous and systematic propaganda of the Soviet idea, and organize the peasant and workers Soviets as soon as possible."

In view of what I have just written as to the complete dominance of the movement by the radical faction at the recent Plenary Session of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee in Hankow it seems to me that it becomes fairly evident how thoroughly the program laid down by Lenin several years ago has been carried out.

That action such as that reported in your minutes, quoted earlier in this letter from the copy that you sent me, is considered by the Communists as direct aid to their program can be easily proven. They are busily engaged on every hand, as I can prove from documents in my possession, in organizing "Hands Off China" committees, conferences against intervention in Nicaragua and Mexico, which I note that the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America has also approved, and similar groups. That those who engage in those movements

at this time of crisis are actual allies—or perhaps I should say "reserves"—of the Communist forces, can be easily established. I now quote from a magazine known as the Communist International, official organ of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, which in its issue of February 28, 1927,—you will note that it *antedates* the action of the Federal Council of Churches as shown in the copy of the minutes that you sent me—says:

"In order to mobilize all the reserves of the international revolutionary movement it is necessary to carry out, with the speed commensurate with the exceptional importance of the matter, the united front under the slogan of 'Hands Off China,' while at the same time the Communists' parties must act independently and employ all forms of mass revolutionary struggle."

There is the official quotation from the ranking Communist world authority and it shows very clearly that those who sponsor such movements as "Hands Off China" are looked upon by the Communist leaders in Moscow as their "reserves."

It is not at all necessary to accept my judgment as to whether or not the action of the Federal Council of Churches, as reported in the minutes of which you sent me a copy, is considered direct support of the Communist movement. The official organ of the Workers (Communist) Party of America is The Daily Worker printed now in New York City and with its editorial rooms at 33 First Street, if you do not have the address.

In its issue of March 28, 1927, in an undated dispatch purporting to have been sent out from Washington, D. C., it says, as the opening sentence:

"China's national awakening, which has been marked by the leadership of students and working class agitators against foreign imperialism and domestic exploitation of Chinese labor, has no terrors for the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. That alliance of 22,000,000 Protestant church members, which often is heard in defense of civil liberties and the right of collective industrial bargaining in the United States, has issued a letter of congratulation to the nationalist movement in China."

I presume that haste in preparing the dispatch led the Communist organ to substitute the word "congratulation" for the words "profound sympathy" as expressed in the minutes of the action taken by the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council of Churches, as per copy which you sent me, or perhaps, in the last analysis these are really synonyms. The succeeding sentence in the dispatch I have just quoted, beginning on page 1 of the Daily Worker of March 28, and concluding on page 3, reads:

"Coming at the moment of the fall of Shanghai to the nationalist forces, it can be interpreted only as a pledge of cooperation between Protestant mission supporters in the United States and the anti-imperialist government at Hankow."

You, of course, understand that "the anti-imperialist government at Hankow" is the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, which controls the actions, and as pointed out, even interviews, of either the military leaders or so-called civilian officials such as Eugene Chen. The next sentences in the article from which I have just been quoting are of particular interest, it seems to me. Those sentences read:

"This appeal to the Chinese nationalists, through the Christian Church in China, is due to the fact that Chinese graduates of mission schools have almost unanimously joined in the revolution and have been most active in denouncing the hypocrisy of Christian nations in their dealings with China. The Federal Council of Churches, in effect, begs the Chinese revolutionary masses to remember that it was through the teachings in the mission schools that the story of Western nations' struggles for liberty has come to the Chinese, inspiring them to win emancipation for themselves. It begs the Chinese to give the missionaries a chance to show that they can serve them in the future regardless of their having thrown in their lot with anti-imperialism."

I have now quoted the complete article and so cannot be charged with unfairness. I am frank to say that in rereading it, after receipt of the copy of the minutes which you sent me, I am not clear as to whether the last two sentences refer to some other action taken by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America in this country or whether it refers to action

taken by representatives and organizations representing in China the constituent bodies named on your letterhead, or perhaps representatives in China of the Federal Council of Churches itself. I note, however, that in the paragraph from the minutes, copy of which you sent me, immediately preceding the announcement of what was "VOTED" it says:

"Dr. Gulick read cables from Dr. Franklin and from 147 missionaries in Nanking in regard to the urgent need for negotiating new treaties with China and avoiding the use of military force. . . ."

It may be that the Communist dispatch refers to action taken by this group or some of the Chinese who were taught by them. You have the complete records while I, not having them, cannot fully interpret these propositions.

It occurs to me, in passing, that it might be of interest to the 22,000,000 Protestant church members to know that the Communists headed the dispatch from which I have quoted with a two column headline reading:

"CHINESE GRADUATES OF MISSION SCHOOLS
FIRST TO EXPOSE MISSIONARY HYPOCRISY."

This letter is already very lengthy and yet I have touched only the high spots. If occasion warrants I can submit further data in support of the position I have taken, gleaned from authoritative Communist sources in the course of some fifteen years' study of the radical movement here and abroad. I shall not go into that, however, but shall simply point out once again the disarmament propaganda, the use of the phrase "avoiding the use of military force" and how this action on the Chinese situation, as a matter tending to hamper the activities of my country in protecting its nationals in China and itself against the spread of world revolution from the East as planned by Lenin, squares with the generally reported action of the Federal Council of Churches in bringing pressure to bear on the Senate of the United States when my country's negotiations with Mexico were at an apparently critical stage.

Is it coincidence?

Is the assertion that there is no Communist activity in Mexico of the same value as to true statement of facts as the assertion that the Communists do not control the nationalist movement

in China with which you express "profound sympathy" as shown by the copy of the minutes that you sent me?

Is the fact that at the time the Communist organs are filled with the cry of withdrawing our ships and marines from China and from the Caribbean the Federal Council of Churches reiterates its stand about disarmament and not using force a mere coincidence?

Did you have the facts that I have submitted in this letter, or facts similar to them, prior to the action taken as set forth in the minutes of which you sent me a copy?

If you did have them were you consciously acting as "reserves" for the Communist forces?

If you did not have them—especially as they are matters about which all students of the movement were informed—by what authority do you claim to advise 22,000,000 Protestant members on the course of action?

If you did not have these facts, known as I have said to all students of the radical movement, would you recommend that loyal American citizens should follow the leadership of the Federal Council of Churches or the leadership of the officials of the United States of America who are in touch with what is going on throughout the world?

If your organization has better facilities for getting information as to just what is going on than has Secretary Kellogg and President Coolidge, why did you not have these facts which have been printed and publicly circulated?

If you did have these facts why do your recommendations parallel exactly what the Communist International wishes?

You closed your very kind letter of April 4 by stating that if I had "any other questions with regard to the activities of the Federal Council" I should let you know. I do not think of any more just now.

In order that there may be absolutely no misunderstanding about the matter I want to say that this letter is not confidential in any sense of the word. You are at full liberty to show it to anyone you please and to use it in any way you see fit and I wish to further assure you that I shall advise certain people that I think ought to know about it that I have now laid these facts before you so that whatever the future course of action

of the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council of Churches may be it is at least of record that you have this information.

In order that my own position may be clear, I may state that I am of Protestant ancestry and that both of my grandfathers, one great uncle and one uncle, were ministers—Methodist and Presbyterian. They believed in their country, were willing to fight for it and did fight for it, with the exception of one grandfather who was physically disqualified and one uncle who was only about five or six years old at the time of the War between the States. They saw nothing incompatible between their faith and defending the country that sheltered their faith and them.

I do not believe in theocracies. I stand without qualification on Article I of the first ten original Amendments to the Constitution of the United States that begins:

"Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

I interpret this as meaning that Church and State in the United States of America shall be forever separated, with no exceptions noted as to denominations.

I do not object in any sense of the word to ministers of the gospel participating in political matters. On the contrary I believe that they should do so, but when they do they should participate on the same basis as other individual citizens, asking no special favors because of the calling they have adopted nor claiming to speak with any special authority by reason of the fact that they are ministers of the gospel.

The attempt to influence the actions of Congress and public officials through bringing pressure to bear *as organized churches* is something else again and to that I am uncompromisingly opposed. That is merely a new theocracy, not even as frank as the old theocracies, for this new theocracy stands in the background and brings pressure to bear instead of shouldering the full responsibility for its course.

Under the Constitution of the United States foreign affairs are in the hands of the President of the United States, his official advisors, and in certain specific circumstances, "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate." It is not in the hands of any church or any combination of churches. I shall oppose as best

I can any effort to lodge it there, directly or indirectly, and I am rather firmly of the opinion that it is about time that the facts in the matter were taken to the people of the United States. I shall do my part to get them there.

Wherever and whenever the foreign policy of the United States of America is involved I shall stand by the duly constituted authorities of my country, without qualification, and without any reservation whatsoever. Those who know me best will agree, I am confident, that I am broadly tolerant, but when the life and the welfare of America are concerned I stand by my country without qualification and I know no other basis on which to classify others in their attitude toward America than that ancient formula:

"He who is not for me is against me and he who gathereth not with me scattereth abroad."

Again thanking you for your prompt and courteous reply to my inquiry of March 29, and trusting that the matter submitted herewith will be of sufficient interest and value to repay you for the time taken in reading this letter, I am

Very sincerely yours,
(signed) HARRY CURRAN WILBUR.

HCW:B

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES
OF CHRIST IN AMERICA
612 United Charities Building,
105 East 22d Street, New York

April 22, 1927.

Mr. Harry Curran Wilbur,
166 West Jackson Boulevard,
Chicago, Illinois.

My dear Mr. Wilbur:

Your letter of April 7 was duly received. Pressure of duties has delayed this reply.

I deeply appreciate your kindness in writing so fully. All of your questions, however, are answered by the fact that the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council took its action, and takes all its actions, without any reference whatever to the policy or program of any other body or person,

whether in the United States or any other country, excepting the church bodies.

Yours very truly,
(signed) SIDNEY L. GULICK,
Secretary.

(Signed in Dr. Gulick's absence from the city.)

HARRY CURRAN WILBUR
Suite 808
166 W. Jackson Blvd.
Chicago, Illinois

April 25, 1927.

Rev. Dr. Sidney L. Gulick,
Secretary, Federal Council of Churches,
612 United Charities Building,
105 East 22d Street, New York, N. Y.

My dear Dr. Gulick:

Your letter of April 22 acknowledging my letter of April 7 has just been received, and I thank you for it.

Let me respectfully point out that the mere fact that the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council of Churches "takes all its actions, without any reference whatever to the policy or program of any other body or person, whether in the United States or any other country, excepting the church bodies," most certainly does *not* answer the questions on page 9 of my letter of April 7.

It does, however, make the attitude of the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council unmistakably clear. You make it very plain that the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council likewise "takes all its action without any reference whatever to the policy or program" of the United States of America.

Furthermore, inasmuch as the documented facts in my letter of April 7 stand unchallenged by you, you make it equally clear that the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council is apparently totally unconcerned because its action aids, abets, and forwards the program of the avowed enemies of the United States.

Thank you for making the record so beautifully clear that "he who runs may read," and let the record show, furthermore, that this classification of the Federal Council of Churches with the enemies of my country is yours, not mine.

This letter, like my first one, is in no sense confidential. I care only to add that I shall do my best, so far as my meager resources permit, to make widely known my letter of April 7 to you, your reply of April 22, and this letter, that there may be as little as possible of misunderstanding of the unchallenged facts.

Regretting exceedingly that a body of such potential influence for good as yours might become lined up as endorsing the program of the enemies of my country instead of supporting my country's policies, I am

Yours very truly,
(signed) HARRY CURRAN WILBUR.

HCW:B

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES
OF CHRIST IN AMERICA
612 United Charities Building,
105 East 22d Street, New York.

May 6, 1927.

Mr. Harry Curran Wilbur,
166 West Jackson Boulevard,
Chicago, Illinois.

My dear Mr. Wilbur:

Your letter of April 25 I assure you entirely misinterprets the policies, programs and relations of the Federal Council, as has been made clear by public statements and editorials, of which I enclose copies.

If you will read the Porter resolution adopted by Congress you will see that the action of the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council is in complete agreement with the policies of the Government therein advocated.

If, therefore, the Federal Council is open to the charges you make concerning "aid given to the enemies of the United States," then Congress and President Coolidge are open to the same charges.

I feel that you entirely misunderstand and misrepresent my country's spirit and policies of goodwill to China and its people.

Yours truly,
(signed) SIDNEY L. GULICK,
Secretary.

HARRY CURRAN WILBUR
Suite 808
166 W. Jackson Blvd.
Chicago, Illinois

May 9, 1927.

Rev. Dr. Sidney L. Gulick, Secretary,
Federal Council of Churches of Christ,
612 United Charities Building,
105 E. 22d Street, New York.
My dear Dr. Gulick:

Your letter of May 6, with enclosures, is just at hand and I have read both the letter and the enclosures that came with it carefully before adding them to my files for the record and for future reference.

I am frank to say that I cannot see that my letter of April 25 "misinterprets the policies, programs and relations of the Federal Council," as it merely quotes your statement in your letter of April 22 that the Federal Council "takes all its actions without any reference whatever to the policy or program of any other body or person, whether in the United States or any other country, excepting the church bodies."

If the Federal Council takes its actions "without reference whatever to the policy or program of any other body or person, whether in the United States or any other country, excepting the church bodies," that certainly states most emphatically that the action is taken without regard to the policy or program of President Coolidge or Secretary of State Kellogg, who are certainly persons and who are certainly not "church bodies," and likewise without reference to the program of Congress which certainly is a body within the United States though not a church body.

Your injection of the reference to the Porter resolution is entirely extraneous. It is extraneous in the first place because

your letter of April 22 specifically states that the Federal Council takes all its actions "without any reference whatever to the policy or program of any other body or person."

It is extraneous in the second place because the Constitution of the United States, Article II, Section 2, Sub-section 2, vests the foreign policy of the United States of America in the President, acting by and through the Secretary of State and other properly designated officials and with treaties that may be negotiated by him to be approved by the Senate. The Porter resolution therefore is merely an expression of the opinion of the majority of Congress and your letter states that the Federal Council acts without reference to the policy or program of any other body except church bodies.

Your reference to the Porter resolution is extraneous on the third ground that it does not answer the questions I submitted in my original letter of April 7, the gist of which may be re-summarized as follows:

1. Did you know of the Lenin thesis presented to the second congress of the Communist International, from which I quoted in my letter of April 7, prior to the action taken by the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council of Churches as per the copy of the minutes that you sent me with your letter of April 4?

2. If you did know of this action is it a mere coincidence that the action of the Federal Council of Churches checks completely with the program of the Communist International in China as laid down by Lenin and as followed without a break?

3. If you did not know these facts, which are common knowledge to students of the movement, by what authority do you claim to advise the 22,000,000 members of the Protestant churches that you claim as constituent members of the Federal Council on the course of action that should be pursued?

I am doing what I can to get the complete record of our correspondence before as many people as possible and am perfectly willing to let the record speak for itself.

In order to make certain that you have the fact and because I feel that it is germane to the subject we have been discussing because it shows that the Communist International is undeviatingly following the Lenin program I wish to call your attention

to the fact that last week the so-called Hankow government, Communist controlled, and from which Chiang Kai-Shek has apparently split away, cabled Communist headquarters in the United States to push the "Hands Off China" program. You will find the cable printed in the Daily Worker, official Communist organ, issue of May 5, 1927, page 3.

Let it be of record that you now have the fact.

Sincerely,

(signed) HARRY CURRAN WILBUR.

HCW:B

SOME NOTES ON CERTAIN ACTIONS OF THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

The *Federal Council of Churches* continues to make up its record.

To each of those to whom this bulletin goes I have sent heretofore copies of the *entire* correspondence between myself and Rev. Dr. Sidney L. Gulick, one of the Secretaries of the Federal Council of Churches.

At the time of dictating this bulletin, as shown by the date below, there has been no reply to my letter of May 9, 1927, to Rev. Dr. Sidney L. Gulick, copy of which you have.

One of my friends advises me that Federal Council Bulletin for May, 1927, Vol. X, No. 5, under the Department "The Open Forum," on page 31 of the bulletin says:

"THE MOSCOW MYTH AGAIN!

"That action such as that reported in your minutes (expressing sympathy with the aspirations of the Chinese people) is considered by the Communists as direct aid to their program can be easily proven. That those who engage in those movements at this time of crisis are actual allies—or perhaps I should say 'reserves'—of the Communist forces, can be easily established.

HARRY CURRAN WILBUR."

Chicago, Ill.

The quotation—except that subheading—is from my letter of April 7, 1927, copy of which you have and which was a letter of more than eleven typewritten pages. By reference to that letter you will note not only how much of the complete argument is omitted but how much it omits even from the paragraph

from which it purports to quote. Let the record stand as an illuminating example of the spirit of fairness actuating the matter put out in printed form by the Federal Council of Churches.

Let me also point out that the quoted word "reserves" is taken from the reference made by the official organ of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, as is pointed out distinctly in the paragraph of my letter of April 7 from which the Federal Council Bulletin quotes in part, but carefully omits the illuminative documentation.

Let that subhead, "The Moscow Myth Again,"—which is injected by the Federal Council and is not from my letter—make its own record as to the attitude of the Federal Council of Churches toward the Soviet group striking at civilized governments everywhere and particularly at Great Britain and the United States. It is very illuminating as to the attitude of the Federal Council of Churches and its idea of what is a myth rather than a menacing reality.

So far as I have been able to ascertain, the quotation from the Federal Council of Churches Bulletin, is the only statement that has been made to date on this matter and there has been no direct communication with me nor was I sent a copy of the bulletin since my letter of May 9 was written to Dr. Gulick. I have sent out many copies of the correspondence but, though I have no printing press nor publicity budget at my disposal, in each and every case I have sent copies of Dr. Gulick's letters to me in their entirety and copies of my letters to him in their entirety. I had no reason for withholding a part of the correspondence.

In order that all the facts, so far as they are at my command, may be before all concerned, I am sending a copy of this bulletin by registered mail to Dr. Gulick at the New York office of the Federal Council of Churches.

HARRY CURRAN WILBUR.

Dated June 2, 1927.

THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE
CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

Office of the General Secretary
105 E. 22d Street, New York.

Washington Office
937 Woodward Bldg.

New York City, June 7, 1927.

Mr. Harry Curran Wilbur,
166 West Jackson Boulevard,
Chicago, Illinois.

Dear Sir:

Your communication of May 9th, together with your previous correspondence with Dr. Gulick, have been referred to me as they deal with matters of general policy.

Permit me to say that Dr. Gulick has, in my judgment, already answered your letters with adequate completeness and I see no reason for continuing to take your time in the matter.

With appreciation of your interest,

Sincerely yours,
(signed) CHARLES S. MACFARLAND.
Rev. Charles S. Macfarland,
General Secretary.

CSM–H

HARRY CURRAN WILBUR
Suite 808
166 W. Jackson Blvd.
Chicago, Illinois

June 15, 1927.

Rev. Dr. Charles S. Macfarland,
General Secretary Federal Council of Churches,
105 East 22d Street, New York.

My dear Dr. Macfarland:

Upon my return from a trip that took me out of the city for a week I find on my desk your letter of June 7 acknowledging receipt of typewritten bulletin issued by me on June 2 and sent on that date by registered mail to Rev. Dr. Sidney L. Gulick.

To complete the record I may say that on June 6 Miss Bishop acknowledged receipt of the bulletin I had sent to Dr. Gulick and advised me that as he had left the city to be gone for several

months she was "referring the memorandum to one of the other Secretaries of the Federal Council."

Thank you for writing me about the matter and for making the record complete.

The record now shows that you, as General Secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, have gone over the entire correspondence between Dr. Gulick and myself; that the letters were referred to you because "they deal with matters of general policy"; and that in your judgment Dr. Gulick has "already answered" my letters "with adequate completeness" and that you see no reason for continuing to take my time in the matter. Your letter is essentially blanket approval of the position taken by Dr. Gulick in his correspondence with me and a reiteration of the attitude of the Federal Council in the matter concerning which I first wrote to Dr. Gulick, this reiteration coming *after* you had definite information that the course taken practically paralleled the course laid down by Lenin for his disciples to follow in China and the Far East. Your adherence to a policy that, whatever it may have been intended to do, actually lends aid and comfort to the enemies of my country and to the unscrupulous group with which Great Britain was eventually compelled to sever trade and diplomatic relations after infinite and almost unparalleled patience, is, of course, a matter resting solely with you and the Federal Council. You have made up the record and I shall, of course, act upon your suggestion and not write you further about the matter, but I do want to point out here, in order that the record may be wholly clear, that I submitted the facts, documented, in my letter of April 7, 1927, to Dr. Gulick.

As this letter, as per your unmistakable suggestion in your letter of June 7, is to close the correspondence, I wish to add that I am forced to disagree with your statement that Dr. Gulick has answered my letters "with adequate completeness," and to point out that the three questions on page 2 of my letter of May 9, which are reiterations of questions beginning on page 9 of my letter of April 7, are not answered at all. I am sending copies of this letter and of your letter to all those to whom I have sent copies of the earlier correspondence, in

accordance with my plan of giving those with whom I take the matter up at all a complete record rather than a partial one.

Again thanking you for your letter of June 7, which officially approves the record made up, I am,

Sincerely yours,

HARRY CURRAN WILBUR.

HCW:B

ACTIVITY PERSONNEL

Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America	*Name*	*Radical or Liberal Affiliations and Activities*
Member	Atkinson, Rev. Henry A.	General Secretary, World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches. This organization is active in its endeavor to discount patriotism.
President of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.	Cadman, Dr. S. Parkes	While he has publicly stated that "when war cures a malady worse than itself, it is always justifiable," and while he admits that in the present state of world affairs, it is necessary for America to continue to provide means for protection, yet he is a constant antagonist of the Nation's defense Act, which provides for a modicum of training of her citizens to afford that protection. He is insistent in his pronouncements that the Church's duty is to enter the political domain of the State. It is upon the reiterated statements of Dr. Cadman, as much as upon any one single evidence, that the authors have preferred the charges found in Chapter I of the present work. He is one of the staff officers of the radical "Non-Intervention Citizens (?) Committee," whose membership, as shown in Chapter XIII, is found to be intimately connected with most of the Socialistic and Communistic groups at work in the United States today.

Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America	*Name*	*Radical or Liberal Affiliations and Activities*
Member of the Protestant Episcopal Commission on Christian Unity and Department of Christian Social Service; this is the Episcopal body affiliated in the Federal Council. Chairman of the Federal Council Committee on Relations with Eastern Churches.	Brent, Bishop Charles H.	An ardent champion and speaker for assorted radical ideas and movements. Said in 1916, in apologizing for Bolshevism, that "it has some admirable features." Member of editorial staff of the Churchman, a liberal religious weekly. His private secretary is reported by the press as secretary of the Buffalo Branch of the American Civil Liberties Union, which ultra-radical organization is the consistent champion of all subversive and revolutionary groups and individuals.
General Secretary of the Federal Council. Member of the Administrative Committee; Secretary of the Editorial Council of the Religious Press; Secretary of the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook.	Cavert, Rev. Samuel McCrea	Contributor to "The World Tomorrow," ultra-liberal pacifist publication, and the "Christian Century," pro-Russian, revolutionary religious weekly. A signer of the misleading Lane Pamphlet against military training, which pamphlet was backed financially by the Garland Free Love Fund, and distributed enthusiastically by the New York office of the Federal Council. Close friend of Harry F. Ward, q. v.
Commission on the Church and Social Service in 1921. Commission on International Justice and Good Will.	Devine, Rev. Edward L.	Co-Author with Rev. John A. Ryan and John A. Lapp of the Pamphlet, "The Denver Tramway Strike of 1920."

Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America	*Name*	*Radical or Liberal Affiliations and Activities*
Secretary of the Federal Council. Note: Gulick, Cavert and Macfarland comprise the triumvirate of the Great General Staff of the Federal Council. These three are responsible for many of the *ex cathedra* pronouncements of the inner chamber, or administrative committee.	Gulick, Rev. Sidney L.	Born in the Orient. Twenty years in Japan. Came to this country as Professor for the Imperial University of Japan and Doshisha University. Makes frequent visits to Japan where he has a summer home. Thoroughly exposed for his un-American pro-Japanese attitude in Montaville Flowers' book "The Japanese Conquest of American Opinion." (Geo. H. Doran Co., N. Y.) Contributor to the "Christian Century." Connected with the publication, "Christian Work." Member of the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches. Member of the Alva W. Taylor gratuitous ambassadorial delegation to diagnose Mexico, July, 1926. Secretary, National Committee on Constructive Immigration Legislation. Speaker for the Foreign Policy Association. Member of the Farmer-Labor Party of New York in 1921. In 1924, attended the National Convention of the League for Industrial Democracy (alias the Intercollegiate Socialist Society.) Active Pacifist and opponent of National Defense as applied to the land of his present residence.

Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America	*Name*	*Radical or Liberal Affiliations and Activities*
Former Vice-Chairman Committee for the Church and Social Service.	Hatch, Rev. Harold A.	Subscriber to the American Civil Liberties Union according to the Lusk Report. Member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation for term expiring in 1926.
Member.	Hardin, Rev. Martin	Represented the Federal Council in the Louis Lochner meetings of November 8, 1915, and following, held in Chicago to aid German aggression.
Washington, D.C. representative of the Federal Council.	Darby, Rev. W. I.	Appeared in 1926 under the direction of the American Civil Liberties Union, as a Representative of the Federal Council of Churches before the House Committee on Immigration in opposition to the deportation of alien criminals.
Executive Secretary Department of Research and Education of the Federal Council.	Johnson, Rev. F. Ernest	On editorial council of "The World Tomorrow"; Co-author with Kirby Page and others of the pamphlet "The Wage Question"; author of the pamphlet "Social Gospel and Personal Religion," espousing the Socialist plan of production for use and not for profit. Author of the Federal Council Pronouncement on Prohibition which was discredited by the Council after it was published. Disseminates socialistic propaganda for the Federal Council to the churches through a weekly *Information Service.*
Associate Secretary, Department of Research and Education of the Federal Council.	Landis, Benson Y.	Spreader of the Socialistic Gospel referred to under F. Ernest Johnson. Author of the pamphlet, "Social Aspects of Farmers' Cooperative Marketing." (Communal theory.)

Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America	*Name*	*Radical or Liberal Affiliations and Activities*
Chairman of the Committee on Mexico, of the Commission on International Justice and Good Will of the Federal Council.	Leach, Henry Goddard	Editor of the "Forum," ultra liberal monthly publication, and member of the advisory committee of the radical "Churchman."
Chairman of the Commission on the Church and Social Service. Was Chairman of the Commission on the Steel Strike of 1919. (Report on which was discredited as unwarrantedly biased.) A prominent and influential leader in the Federal Council.	McConnell, Bishop Francis J.	Member of the American Civil Liberties Union; of the Foreign Policy Association; of the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches. Outstanding leader in the Socialistic Evanston (Ill.) Conference of the Methodist Federation for Social Service of June, 1926. This conference's main subject of discussion was "Production for Use and Not for Profit." This conference drew much praise and commendation from the Socialist, Communist, and Radical press. Was one of the endorsers of the Lane attack on Military Training which was financed by the Free Love Garland Radical Socialist Fund. Cooperator with and defender of the Rev. Harry F. Ward, q.v.
Member of the Hierarchy, the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council.	Lynch, Rev. Frederick	Secretary of the Church Peace Union; Educational Secretary of the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches, an affiliated organization with the ultra-pacifist National Council for the Prevention of War.

Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America	*Name*	*Radical or Liberal Affiliations and Activities*
Member of the Board of Trustees. Chairman of the Washington, D.C. office. Former Chairman, General Committee on *Army and Navy Chaplains.*	McDowell, Bishop Wm. F.	Member of the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches, an affiliated organization with the ultra-pacifist National Council for the Prevention of War. This excellent churchman is quite sincere and well-disposed, but his trusting nature makes him the easy agent of the more subtle and radical men associated with him in the Federal Council. With the advice of Rev. Macfarland and others, his committee passes upon Protestant applicants for commission as Chaplains in the U.S. Army, U. S. Navy, and the U. S. Reserves.
General Secretary, Recording Secretary, and Trustee of the Federal Council. Member of various commissions and committees of the Federal Council. Has been alluded to by certain of his fellow clergymen as the "Senior Protestant Cardinal, and a logical candidate for Papal honors, in case of a vacancy."	Macfarland, Rev. Charles S.	Trustee, Church Peace Union. Member, Executive Committee of the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches, an affiliated organization with the ultra-pacifist National Council for the Prevention of War. Visits the Citizens Military Training Camps each year, reporting on the messes, morals and methods therein. Takes a great interest in the selection of Reserve Chaplains; the denominations have supinely turned over to the Federal Council the function of certifying their clergymen for commissions in the Chaplains Reserve Corps, U. S. Army.

Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America	*Name*	*Radical or Liberal Affiliations and Activities*
Former President of the Federal Council. Trustee; Member Executive Committee; and official member representing the Northern Baptist Convention. Chairman of the Western (Chicago) office of the Federal Council.	Mathews, Dean Shailer	Pacifist, opposed to patriotic hymns. Trustee of the Church Peace Union. One of the organizers of the World Alliance of the Churches for the Promotion of International Justice and Good Will, now known as the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches, an affiliated organization with the ultra-pacifist National Council for the Prevention of War.
Industrial and Field Secretary of the Federal Council Commission on the Church and Social Service.	Myers, Rev. James	Admitted that he is a member of the American Civil Liberties Union. Staunch self-admitted friend of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn (I.W.W.), Carlo Tresca (anarchist) and Roger N. Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union.
Representative on the Federal Council of the Evangelical Church. Chairman of the Industrial Commission of the Detroit Council of Churches.	Niebuhr, Rev. Reinhold	Radical Pacifist. Contributing Editor to "The World Tomorrow," "The Christian Century," the "Survey," and the "New Republic," all of which are radical publications which are defenders or champions of Soviet Dictatorship. Honorary Secretary of the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order, whose creed is the Socialist creed of production for use and not for profit. He is an advocate of pooling salaries of the clergy to escape the economic pressure of donors. He is closely associated with Kirby Page and Sherwood Eddy. Prominent in the 1926 Radical Student Conference at Milwaukee.

Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America	*Name*	*Radical or Liberal Affiliations and Activities*
Member of the Commission on International Justice and Good Will. Committee Work for the Department of Research and Education in 1922.	Page, Kirby	Formulator of the "Slackers Oath." Absolute Pacifist. Co-author with Alva W. Taylor, F. Ernest Johnson, and others, of the pamphlet "The Wage Question." Editor of "The World Tomorrow." Co-author with Sherwood Eddy of "The Abolition of War." One of the founders of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Staunchly pro-Soviet. Member of the Executive Committee of the Fellowship for a Christian (?) Social Order (Socialistic).
Committee Work for the Department of Research and Education. Formerly member of the Commission on the Church and Social Service. Represents the Disciples of Christ as an official member of the Federal Council.	Taylor, Prof. Alva W.	Editorial writer for "The Christian Century." Member of the Commission on Inquiry on the steel strike of 1919, report of which was discredited as unwarrantedly biased. Headed self-appointed ambassadorial delegation to Mexico in 1926. This mission to Mexico was a plain unwarranted interference with our State Department's foreign relations with Mexico. This mission was frankly apologetic for Communist influence in Mexico. Author of "The Church and Industrial Reconstruction."
Associate Secretary of the Commission on International Justice and Good Will of the Federal Council.	Van Kirk, Rev. Walter W.	Member of the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches, an affiliated organization with the ultra-pacifist National Council for the Prevention of War. Ardent internationalist "cultivating the international mind among the leaders of tomorrow" (Youth Movement). Contributor to "TheChurchman," ultra-liberal religious (?) journal.

Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America	*Name*	*Radical or Liberal Affiliations and Activities*
Member of the Council of Church Secretaries. Methodist Episcopal representative on the Commission on the Church and Social Service, as Secretary of the Methodist (?) Federation for Social Service. Note:—This Methodist (?) Federation for Social Service was the subject of some considerable discussion in the Methodist General Conference in 1924. On account of its unofficial character, and on account of its free-lance activities, many delegates desired to deprive it the privilege of longer using the word "Methodist"; but Ward was finally permitted to use the name, but without unqualified Methodist sanction of all his activities.	Ward, Rev. Harry F.	Chairman and prominent ruling spirit of the ultra-radical, revolutionary, and I.W.W.—defending American Civil Liberties Union. The joint Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities of the State of New York, defines the American Civil Liberties Union thus: "American Civil Liberties Union, in the last analysis, is a supporter of all subversive movements, and its propaganda is detrimental to the interests of the State. It attempts not only to protect crime but to encourage attacks upon our institutions in every form." During the War, Dr. Ward was very active in several pro-German and Pacifist organizations, such as the People's Council of America, "Modeled after the Council of Workmen and Soldiers in Russia," the program of which was "a drawing together of all the radical forces of workingmen, suggesting *mass action*"; Emergency Peace Federation organized by several well-known radicals and pro-Germans, "to keep America from war and its attendant consequences"; Fellowship of Reconciliation, American Union against Militarism, First American Conference for Democracy, and Terms of Peace. All these organizations carried on subversive and disloyal propaganda during the war.

Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America	*Name*	*Radical or Liberal Affiliations and Activities*
		Dr. Ward in 1920, presided over an I.W.W. meeting held at the (Socialistic) Rand School of Social Science in New York, at which money was raised for the defense of the I.W.W. murderers of the four members of the American Legion at Centralia, Washington. He has claimed from the lecture platform that the Russian bolshevist leaders are not understood in this country, and that those who condemn them are not fair nor just. He has attacked the United States Government for its policy of deporting radical aliens. Defends the I.W.W. from the platform. He says in his book "The New Social Order," that the system under which our government is living is doomed to go, and whether or not the new order comes peaceably or through violence depends upon the so-called middle and property class. This class, according to Ward, must bow to the inevitable and allow the so-called proletariat of the world to establish the new social order for which Ward is working, or a violent revolution will result. Ward is an ardent exponent of the doctrine of syndicalism. The meaning of syndicalism is: "The ownership and operation of each industry by the workers in that industry—the political state to be abolished." Ward, in his book above cited, on page 373, says: "The

Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America	*Name*	*Radical or Liberal Affiliations and Activities*

principles of democracy demand direct control of each economic function by all those directly engaged in it, but coordinating control of all the functions by all the people."

America has few franker champions of syndicalism, socialism or communism than Rev. Ward. He makes a practice, and has long made a practice, of interpolating his radical ideas into all groups and organizations wherein his political adroitness gains him influence. As Professor of Social Science in Boston University School of Theology, he delivered many radical lectures which he later published under the title "The Labor Movement."

He left Boston University School of Theology and went to the Chair of Christian Ethics in the Union Theological Seminary in New York; but his strategic post in the Boston school is now held by his warm personal friend and understudy, the Rev. G. Bromley Oxnam, late of the Church of All Nations in Los Angeles, noted for its radical activities and influence.

When the Methodist Federation for Social Service, Ward's surface organization, held its notorious conference at Garrett Biblical Institute in Evanston, Illinois, in 1926, it was decided that there should be no publicity in the discussions in this meeting, and the *Chicago Daily Journal* publicly stated that

Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America	*Name*	*Radical or Liberal Affiliations and Activities*
		its reporters were informed that there would be no publicity. Despite this fact, three-quarters of a column of publicity giving purported summaries of some of the statements appeared in the Daily Worker, the official Communist organ. Ward was in touch with certain Communist allies while he was in Chicago.
Chairman of the Commission on International Justice and Good Will. Chairman, National Committee on American-Japanese Relations of the Federal Council.	Wickersham, George W.	Has long been engaged in conducting a campaign for the League of Nations, the World Court, and the Cancellation of Foreign Debts. Active in many organizations having these ends in view. Attorney for the Mitsui interests in Japan. In the hearings before the House Committee on Immigration, held in 1926, the attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union, presented as a part of its argument against the Holiday Bill for the Deportation of Criminal Aliens, a communication from Mr. Wickersham vigorously opposing this proposed legislation. Chairman of the Committee for Treaty Ratification, with Sidney Gulick as his secretary.

Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America	*Name*	*Radical or Liberal Affiliations and Activities*
Editor, Christian Advocate, the leading weekly publication of Methodism, N.Y.	Luccock, Rev. Halford	Signer of the Lane Pamphlet attacking Military Training, which was financed by the American Civil Liberties Union by means of the Free Love Socialistic Garland Fund. Permits frequent pacifistic and "new social order" articles to appear in his paper. Also permits unwarranted commentaries on the Sunday School lessons to be printed in the Advocate.
	High, Rev. Stanley	One of the acknowledged leaders of the Youth Movement, and the author of the "Revolt of Youth," a so-called text book of the movement. Zinoviev said, "The Youth Movement is the best section of the Third Internationale, and that is as it should be, because they are the heralds of the future." On page 214 of his book, Rev. High says: "The German Youth Movement is a spontaneous uprising against the superimposed *restrictions of the home*, the church, and the school." "Go to Leavenworth rather than fight" is the pronouncement of Stanley High; and he is a co-worker with Brent Dow Allinson, who served a term as a draft obstructor. Signer and backer of the Lane Pamphlet antagonizing Military Training.

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